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THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF RAYY

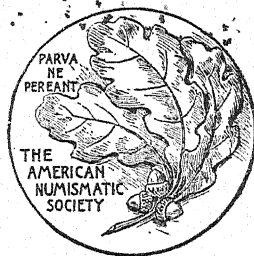
BY

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16467

NUMISMATIC STUDIES

No. 2



737.470955

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1938



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GLÜCKSTADT-HAMBURG-NEW YORK

## PREFACE

This monograph is an attempt to record in full the issues of the mint of Rayy (ancient Rhages, the capital city of the province of Media or al-Jibāl in Persia) from the time of the conquest of the city by the Arabs in the 1st Century of the Hijrah (7th Christian Century) till its final destruction by the Mongols in the 7th (13th) Century. Originally presented as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and accepted by the faculty of Princeton University in 1937, the work has since been considerably enlarged and in some respects revised. A grant from the American Council of Learned Societies has materially aided the American Numismatic Society in defraying the costs of publication.

The present numismatic compilation, together with the accompanying historical commentary, is intended not only to provide a corpus of the coins issued at one of the great mint-cities of Islām but also to serve as a source-book for a history of Rayy and its province during the mediaeval Islāmic period. No field of history is so well served by its numismatics as is the Islāmic, and in the case of Rayy we find almost every event of any historical, or at least political, importance reflected in the issues of the Rayy mint. Unfortunately there are serious lacunae, particularly in the 6th (12th) Century, and it is unlikely that these lacunae will be filled by future numismatic finds; for the other centuries, however, the coins are the authoritative arbiters of the Rayy chronology. To the numismatist the monograph should have some value in that he can review here the entire series of coins, many of which are inedited, struck at the Rayy mint. The historian should be pleased to find how the coins testify to the accuracy, in matters of chronology at least, of such chroniclers as Ṭabari, ibn-al-Athīr and their sources. Only very seldom do we find that the Arabic or Persian writers were wrong in their record of the succession of events. Where they were wrong, there was usually sufficient good reason in the complexity of contemporaneous politics.

For the numismatic specimens I have consulted all the published material available to me, and have furthermore personally gone through several of the greater coin cabinets. In private collections and obscure publications there are doubtless specimens of issues of the Rayy mint which are not represented in this volume; these omissions will, I hope, be called to my attention as a result of the present publication. I should like to express here my warmest thanks to those who have extended many courtesies in connection with the gathering of the material: first, to the Field Director of the Rayy Archaeological Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Dr. Erich F. Schmidt, under whom it was my privilege to work at Rayy for three years, from 1934 to 1936, and who made it possible for me to continue this study after I had left the Expedition; then to the directors and curators of museums who have without exception been most generous and helpful in allowing me to study the collections under their charge: Aziz Bey, director, Arif Bey, assistant director, and Osman Bey, numismatic curator, of the Istanbul Museums, and Ali Sami Bey, also of Istanbul; Dr. Demel, director of the Münz- und Antiken-Kabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and to Dr. Holzmaier; Dr. Walter Hellige of the Münzkabinet in Berlin; Mr. John Allan, Keeper, and Mr. John Walker, Assistant, of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. Mr. Walker has been most generous in his assistance and has placed unpublished specimens in the British Museum at my disposal. To M. Rémy Cottevieille-Giraudet of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, I am especially grateful for the privilege of taking notes on unpublished coins in the Paris cabinet and including these notes in the monograph; he is himself engaged in the preparation of a continuation of the Paris catalogue, and he has graciously allowed me to anticipate him in the publication of the essential facts of several unique coins. To him I am indebted for the casts in Plate VI, representing rare coins in the Cabinet des Médailles. At the American Numismatic Society

in New York every kindness and privilege has always been extended, and I wish especially to express my gratitude to Mr. Edward T. Newell, President, and to Mr. Sydney P. Noe, Secretary and, since January, 1938, Curator. Sadly I can only record my great debt to the late Curator of the American Numismatic Society, Howland Wood, whose death has robbed Islāmic Numismatics of one of its most enthusiastic and gifted connoisseurs. Mr. Philip Thorburn has been good enough to supply me with a list of Rayy specimens in his collection.

The historical commentary could not have been undertaken without the aid of my professor, Dr. Philip K. Hitti, and to him and Drs. Nabih A. Faris and Edward J. Jurji, I am greatly indebted for the generous way in which they have given their time to my frequent questions in Arabic matters. Professor Ernst Herzfeld has been especially kind in allowing me to consult him on many problems connected directly or indirectly with the Iranian aspects of the work. And I wish also to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Dr. Harold H. Bender, Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at Princeton University, for many kindnesses, past and present. Finally I am happy to mention the untiring aid given me by my wife in the preparation of the manuscript, the revision of the proofs and the making of the index.

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

The following bibliography, in which only the most frequently quoted works are listed, is arranged alphabetically according to the abbreviated title (name or letters) used in the text. The titles of works referred to less frequently are given in full wherever they occur. The list includes also the abbreviations used for museums and other collections.

- Abu-al-Fidā': Kitāb al-Mukhtasar, ed. Cairo, 1325; ed. Istanbul, 1286.
- Akhbār al-Dawlah: Akhbār 'ud-Dawlat 'is-Saljūqiyya, ed. Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore, 1933.
- Anderson-Vasmer: Walter Anderson and Richard Vasmer, *Der Chalifenmünzfund von Kochtel*, Dorpat, 1926. (Only the rare coins are entered.)
- Anonymous Chronicle: Anonyme Arabische Chronik, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Greifswald, 1883.
- ANS: American Numismatic Society, New York City. (All of the specimens of the Rayy mint in this collection are listed; none has been previously published.)
- Assur Collection, Berlin: A hoard of 'Abbāsīd *dirhams* found at Assur by the expedition of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (1903-1913), and now preserved in the Münzkabinet in Berlin. This collection of over 5000 coins has not been published, and Dr. Hellige was kind enough to allow me to go through it. The number of specimens of the Rayy mint in the collection is extraordinarily large. Limitations of time precluded a careful study of all the specimens, but I believe I have recorded with fair accuracy the number of specimens of each issue.
- Balādhuri: Aḥmad b. Yaḥya al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866.
- Bartholomae à Soret, I: Lettre adressée par M. le Général J. Bartholomae à M. Soret sur des Monnaies Koufiques inédites rapportées de Perse. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1859, Série 3, Tome III.
- Berlin: Königl. Museen zu Berlin, *Katalog der Orientalischen Münzen*, I, Die Münzen der östlichen Chalifen, H. Nützel, Berlin, 1898.
- Berlin unnumbered or with date: Unpublished coins in the Münzkabinet in Berlin. Dates and numbers are acquisition numbers.
- B. M. (with volume number): S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1875-1890.
- B. M. unnumbered or with date: Unpublished coins in the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum. Dates and numbers are acquisition numbers.
- Blau, N. Z. Wien, VIII: Otto Blau, *Nachlese orientalischer Münzen*, N. Z., Wien, VIII, 1876.
- Bodleian: S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Mohammadan Coins preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Oxford, 1888.
- Browne, Lit. Hist.: E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London and New York, 1902-1924.
- Bundārī: Tawārīkh Āl Saljūq. *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq par al-Bondārī d'après Imād ad-dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī*, ed. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1889.
- Cairo: S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, London, 1897.
- Casanova: P. Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection des Monnaies Musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismaïl*, Paris, 1896.
- Codrington, N. C., 1902: O. Codrington, *Some Rare Oriental Coins*, Numismatic Chronicle, London, 1902.
- Da Cunha: *Catalogue of the Coins in the Numismatic Cabinet belonging to J. Gerson da Cunha*, 4 parts, Bombay, 1888-1889.

- Dinawari: Abu-Hanifah Ahmad b. Dāwūd al-Dinawari, Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl, ed. V. Guirgass, Leyden, 1888.
- Dorn: L'Académicien Dorn, Inventaire des Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux etc., St. Pétersbourg, 1877-1881.
- Dorn, Nova Supplementa: B. Dorn, Ch. M. Fraehnii, Nova Supplementa ad Recensionem numorum Muhammedanorum, Acad. Imp. Scient. Petropolit. Additamentis editoris aucta, Petropoli, 1855.
- E. of I.: Encyclopaedia of Islām.
- Fonrobert: Adolph Weyl, Verzeichnis von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Erdteile Australien, Asien, Afrika und verschiedener mohammedanischer Dynastien der Jules Fonrobert'schen Sammlung, Berlin, 1878.
- Fraehn, Recensio: C. M. Fraehn, Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae, Petropoli, 1826.
- GCM: Coins in the collection of George C. Miles.
- Guthrie Collection: S. Lane-Poole, Collection of Oriental Coins... Col. C. Seton Guthrie, Fasc. I, Coins of the Amawi Khalifehs, Hertford, 1874.
- Hallenberg: J. Hallenberg, Numismata Orientalia, I and II (in one volume), Upsala, 1822.
- Al-Hamadhāni: Ibn-al-Faqih al-Hamadhāni, Kitāb al-Buldān, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1885.
- Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi: The Ta'rikh-i-Guzida of Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfi-i-Qazwīnī, ed. E. G. Browne, Leyden, 1910, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. XIV, 1.
- Herzfeld Collection: Coins formerly in the possession of Professor Ernst Herzfeld, now represented by photographs which Professor Herzfeld kindly allowed me to consult.
- Hilāl b. Muḥassin: Ta'rikh Hilāl b. Muḥassin al-Ṣābi, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Oxford, 1921 (forming a continuation of Miskawayh, as published by D. S. Margoliouth under the title, The Experiences of the Nations).
- Ibn-al-Athīr: Al-Kāmil fi al-Ta'rikh, Ibn-el-Athiri, Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867-1874.
- Ibn-Isfandiyār: E. G. Browne, An abridged Translation of the History of Ṭabaristān by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyār, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. II, Leyden, 1905.
- Ibn-Khallikān: Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān, ed. Būlāq, 1299.
- Ibn-Khurdādhbih: Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1889.
- Iṣṭakhr: Coins found in the excavations conducted by Dr. Erich F. Schmidt at Iṣṭakhr for the Oriental Institute of Chicago.
- Istanbul: Ismā'īl Ghālib, Müze-yi-Humāyūn, Meskūkāt-i-Qadīme-i-Islāmiyyeh Qatalōghi, I, Qusṭanṭīniyyah, 1312.
- Istanbul, unnumbered: Unpublished coins in the Cabinet of the *Antikitelер Müzesi*, Istanbul.
- JA: Journal Asiatique.
- JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Johnston Coll.: Catalogue of the Collection of... the late J. M. C. Johnston, sale, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 1906.
- Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici: A series of contributions published in the Numismatic Chronicle, London, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1892, by S. Lane-Poole.
- Leggett: Eugene Leggett, Notes on the Mint-Towns and Coins of the Mohamedans, London, 1885 (table of Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd coins).
- Lindberg: J. C. Lindberg, Essai sur les monnaies coufiques frappées par les Émirs de la Famille des Bouides et les Princes de leur Dépendance, 1842.
- Markoff: A. Марковъ, инвентарный Каталогъ Мусульманскихъ Монетъ, etc., St. Petersburg, 1896.
- Markoff, Topografiya: A. Марковъ, Топографія Кладовъ Восточныхъ Монетъ, St. Petersburg, 1910.
- Marsden: William Marsden, Numismata Orientalia Illustrata, The Oriental Coins Ancient and Modern of his Collection described and historically illustrated. Two volumes. London, 1823, 1825.
- Mas'ūdi: Abu-al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Mas'ūdi, Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Les Prairies d'Or, Paris, 1861-1877.



- Meier, ZDMG, 1864: E. Meier, Die Werthbezeichnungen auf muhammedanischen Münzen, ZDMG, 1864, pp. 760-774.
- Mirkhwand, Buyids: Fr. Wilken, Mirkhonds Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh, Berlin, 1835 (extract from Mirkhwand's *Rawdat al-Ṣafā'*).
- Mirkhwand, Seljūqs: J. A. Vullers, Mirkhondi Historia Seldschukidarum, Gießen, 1837 (extract from Mirkhwand's *Rawdat al-Ṣafā'*).
- Miskawayh: Abu-'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Oxford, 1920-1921.
- Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1854: A. D. Mordtmann, Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden, ZDMG, 1854.
- Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1858: A. D. Mordtmann, Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlewi-Legenden, ZDMG, 1858.
- Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1865: A. D. Mordtmann, Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlevi-Legenden, Zweiter Nachtrag, ZDMG, 1865.
- Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879: A. D. Mordtmann, Zur Pehlevi-Münzkunde, ZDMG, 1879.
- Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1880: A. D. Mordtmann, Zur Pehlevi-Münzkunde, ZDMG, 1880.
- N. C.: Numismatic Chronicle, London.
- Nesselmann: G. H. F. Nesselmann, Die Orientalischen Münzen des Ak. Münzcabinets in Königsberg, Leipzig, 1858.
- N. Z., Wien: Numismatische Zeitschrift, Wien, herausgegeben von der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
- Paris: Henri Lavoix, Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I, Khalifes Orientaux, Paris, 1887.
- Paris, unpublished: Unpublished coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.
- Porter, N. C., 1921: H. Porter, Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate, Numismatic Chronicle, 1921, pp. 317-332.
- Rāwandi: Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Rāwandi, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr wa-Āyat al-Surūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, Leyden, 1921, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, Vol. II.
- Rayy: Coins found in the excavations of the Rayy Archaeological Expedition under the direction of Dr. Erich F. Schmidt for the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1934-1936. In each case the year of the find is given, followed by the field catalogue number. The letters prefixed to the field number have the following significance: RTA, RB, RC, RD, RE, RF, RG, RH, test excavations at various points within the area of the mediaeval city; RA, Buwayhid or Seljūq period tomb-tower at Amīnābād on the outskirts of the city; RN, the large Buwayhid or Seljūq period tomb-tower now called the Naqāreh Khāneh; RGQ, two excavations in the governmental quarter (al-Muḥammadiyah) at the foot of Ṭabarak; RCi, the citadel, or Ṭabarak; RCh, the prehistoric mound, with Parthian and Islamic upper strata, called Cheshmeh-i-'Alī; CT, the Sasanian palace near Chāl Ṭarkhān, ca. 20 km. SE of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīm.
- Rev. Num. Belge: Revue de la Numismatique Belge (the title varies; it is sometimes Revue Belge de Numismatique).
- Rogers Collection: Catalogue of a Collection of Mohammadan Coins belonging to E. T. Rogers Bey, N. C. 1883, pp. 202-260.
- Rūdhrawari: Abu-Shujā' Zāhir al-Dīn al-Rūdhrawari, *Dhayl Kitāb Tajārib al-Umam*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Oxford, 1921 (forming a continuation of Miskawayh, as published by D. S. Margoliouth under the title, *The Experiences of the Nations*).
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- Schwarz: P. Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen, V, Leipzig, 1925.
- Soret à Fraehn: Lettre à son Excellence M. le Conseiller d'État actuel de Fraehn, sur les exemplaires inédits de la Collection des Monnaies orientales de Mr. Frédéric Soret (Extrait des Mém. de la Soc. Imp. d'archéologie de St. Pétersbourg, 1851).



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- Ṭab.: Abu-Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabari, Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk, ed. de Goeje et al., Leyden, 1879-1901.
- Thomas, JRAS, 1850: E. Thomas, The Pehlvi Coins of the Early Mohammedan Arabs, JRAS, 1850.
- Ties.: W. Tiesenhausen, Монеты Восточнаго Халифата, St. Petersburg, 1873.
- Tiesenhausen, Mélanges: W. Tiesenhausen, Mélanges de Numismatique Orientale, Rev. Num. Belge, 1875.
- Tornberg: C. J. Tornberg, Numi Cufici Regii Numophylacii Holmiensis, Upsaliae, 1848.
- Tornberg, Die jüngsten etc.: C. J. Tornberg, Die jüngsten Ausgrabungen Arabischen Geldes in Schweden, ZDMG, 1868.
- Tornberg, Nov. Symb.: C. J. Tornberg, Symbolae ad rem numariam muhammedanorum, I in Nov. Act. Reg. Scient. Upsaliensis, 1846; II, ibid. 1853; III, ibid. 1856; IV, ibid. 1862 (inaccessible to me and quoted at second hand only).
- Tychsen, Introductio: O. G. Tychsen, Introductio in Rem Numariam Muhammedanorum, Rostochii, 1794; and Additamentum, 1796.
- Walker, N. C., 1934: J. Walker, Notes on Arab-Sasanian Coins, N. C., 1934.
- Weil: G. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, Mannheim, 1846-1851.
- Wien: Unpublished specimens in the Münz- und Antiken-Kabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien.
- Yacoub Artin Bey: Catalogues des monnaies en Or *A'* de la Collection orientale Islamique de Yacoub Artin Bey, Caire, 1880 (MS in the University Museum, Philadelphia).
- Ya'qūbi: Ibn-Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbi, Ta'riḫ, ed. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883.
- Yāqūt: Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1870.
- Zambaur, Contrib. I: E. von Zambaur, Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale, N. Z., Wien, 1905, Vol. XXXVI.
- Zambaur, Contrib. II: E. von Zambaur, Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale, N. Z., Wien, 1906, Vol. XXXVII.
- Zambaur, Contrib. III: E. von Zambaur, Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale, N. Z., Wien, 1914, Vol. XLVII.
- Zambaur, Manuel: E. de Zambaur, Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam, Hannover, 1927.
- ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

#### NOTE ON transliteration

For the Arabic the system of transliteration used has been that of the E. of I. with some modifications. Long final vowels are not marked and initial hamzahs are omitted. Doubtless many inconsistencies will be found to exist; conscious inconsistencies are limited to very common words which take on a too distorted appearance when transliterated "scientifically". Names compounded with Allāh, for example, are transliterated as one word, e.g. 'Abdullāh. "Al-Rayy" is written in transliterating the inscriptions and in the captions, but I have throughout omitted the pedantic Arabic definite article from the text. Some attempt has been made to indicate the true quality of the Persian and Turkish vowels.

#### NOTE ON THE DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS

It has been my intention to assemble in this monograph all the known issues of the Rayy mint during Islāmic times and to record all the inscriptions on these coins. This, I think, has been done with a reasonable degree of completeness. I have not, however, attempted to describe each coin with the minuteness usually devoted to it in a careful numismatic catalogue for two reasons: first, because in very many cases the coin was not completely described when it was originally edited; and second, because the minutiae of the various dies are not essential to the purpose of the monograph which is historical rather than technically numismatic. Hence, weights and measurements are not given, and borders and annulets are not described. I have however tried to indicate the number of dies of each issue that are known to exist.

Each numbered entry represents a year, and the sub-numbers are devoted to different issues of that year<sup>1</sup>. Gold issues are described first, followed by the silver and copper of the same year. Where there is an important political change during a given year, this order may vary to suit the circumstances. Historical commentary follows after all the issues of the year have been described.

#### NOTE ON THE ORDER FOLLOWED IN REFERRING TO SPECIMENS

After the description of each issue and before any numismatic or historical comment that may accompany it, are listed the references to the locations of the specimens. As a rule, I have attempted to use consistently the following order in stating the references:

1. Published works in alphabetical order.
2. Unpublished specimens in various museums and cabinets. (In case the specimen is to be found in a museum or cabinet where there is also a published example of the same issue, the unpublished specimen will be found entered immediately after the reference to the published one.)
3. Unpublished specimens in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society.
4. Unpublished specimens in the collection of the author.
5. Unpublished specimens from the Rayy and Iṣṭakhr Excavations.

The list of references for each issue does not pretend to be exhaustive. Where an issue is common I have not gone to the sources of Tiesenhausen's compendium and have simply indicated the number

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<sup>1</sup> Several issues of years not previously represented have been discovered since the original numeration was completed. In order to obviate the necessity of a complete revision of the numeration, these issues have been given subnumbers with the letters X, Y, or Z.

of references which Tiesenhausen gave to the issue; on the other hand, where the issue is rare or there is some question about the detail, I have consulted the original publications where possible. In some cases this has not been possible, as for example when the reference is to a MS work or to an obscure (usually Russian) publication inaccessible to me at the present time. Markoff's inventory of the Hermitage Collection I have referred to only in the case of rare coins, as the coins in his inventory are almost never described and it is hence impossible to tell exactly what type or sub-type the coin in question is. The same is true with some other publications, like the da Cunha and Princess Ismail Pasha inventories. So it is to be borne in mind that the number of references to many issues might be greatly extended, but to no great purpose. A good indication of the commonness of an issue can be gained by the number of citations to known examples. Of course, where an issue is a rare one, I have listed every reference that has come to my attention.

## I. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SASANIAN RAYY MINT MONOGRAM

The history of the identification of 𐭠𐭣 as the Sasanian Rayy<sup>1</sup> mint monogram may be briefly summarized as follows: Edward Thomas, *The Pehlvi Coins of the early Mohammedan Arabs* (JRAS, 1850), recorded but did not attempt to read 𐭠𐭣 (no. 14, pg. 327). The same author (*Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems etc.*, JRAS, 1852), read 𐭠𐭣 = 𐭠 = LD, and on a coin of Bahrām V, 𐭠𐭣 = 𐭠𐭣 = LDI, no identification (no. 24, pp. 395-6); 𐭠𐭣𐭠 (with variations) = 𐭠𐭣𐭠 or 𐭠𐭣𐭠 = RIU or LIU, no identification (no. 25, pg. 396). A. D. Mordtmann, *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden* (ZDMG, 1854): 𐭠𐭣 = ?? (LD, RD), but tentatively Ledan in Khūzistān (no. 14, pg. 14); 𐭠𐭣 = ZD = Zadracarta? (no. 20, pp. 17-18); 𐭠𐭣 etc. = 𐭠𐭣 = 𐭠𐭣, Rayy (no. 24, no. 38, pp. 19, 22). The same author, *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden, Zweiter Nachtrag* (ZDMG, 1865): 𐭠𐭣 = ?? (LD, RD), still not solved, but suggested, among other possible identifications, Rūdbār (no. 9, pg. 399); 𐭠𐭣 = ZD = Zadracarta, but not Arrian's, because that city disappeared (no. 23, pg. 400); 𐭠𐭣𐭠 = Rayy (no. 21, pg. 400); 𐭠𐭣 (10th year of Khosraw II) = 𐭠𐭣 = ZD (probably) (no. 49, pg. 404). The same author, *Hekatompylos. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Geographie Persiens* (Sitzb. der k. bayer. Ak. der Wiss., München, 1869, Bd. I): 𐭠𐭣 = 100 gates = Hekatompylos; argument partly on the sound basis of Bistām's coins, years 2, 4, 5, 6. This wrong identifi-

<sup>1</sup> The forms of the name are: *O. P.* Ragā (Behistun, Col. II, ll. 71-72: ed. Weißbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig, 1911, sect. 32, pg. 38; ed. British Museum, 1907, pg. 35), abl. Ragāyā (Behistun, Col. III, ll. 2-3: ed. Weißbach, sect. 36, pg. 42; ed. B. M., pg. 42). *Av.* Rayā (Yasn, 19: 18), acc. Rayām (Vidēvdāt, I: 15), abl. Rayāōit (Yasn, 19: 18), (Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Straßburg, 1904, col. 1497). *Gr.* Ράγαι (Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Isidore of Charax, Tobit), from which various Latin spellings. *Pahl.* Ray(i) = Rey, lapidary (cf. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I, Heft 2, foot-note 1, pp. 77-78; II, Heft 2, pg. 96), Ray = Rey, manuscript (Dinkart, 7, 2, 51; 7, 13, 19; Zāt-Sparam, 16, 11-13); *Syriac* Bēth Rāziqāyē (cf. Ērānšahr, pg. 122); *Arabic* al-Rayy; *M. P.* Rey. I do not propose at the present time to discuss the Arab-Persian popular etymologies of the word. The scientific etymologies have been handled by Bartholomae, op. cit.; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Abhandl. K. G. der Wiss., zu Göttingen, Ph.-Hist. Klasse, N. F. Band III, no. 2, Berlin, 1901, pp. 122ff.; J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, ed. G. Messina, S. I., in *Analecta Orientalia*, no. 3, Rome, 1931, pp. 23, 112-114; cf. also: Weissbach, articles *Raga*, *Europos*, and *Arsakia* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Halbband 3, col. 1270, Halbband 11, col. 1310, 2. Reihe, Halbband 1, cols. 125-127; A. V. W. Jackson, *A Historical Sketch of Ragha, the Supposed Home of Zoroaster's Mother*, in Spiegel Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1908, pp. 237-245.

cation has been generally adopted until the present. Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Erklärung der Sasanidenmünzen* (ZDMG, 1877, pp. 149–150): Mordtmann's  $\text{ك}$  = Rayy is wrong, because no known form of this city's name has a *W*; on the other hand, the monogram fits well *Rêw Ardašîr* = ریو اردشهر = Arabic ریشهر or راشهر (the correct identification of  $\text{ك}$  in E. Herzfeld's opinion);  $\text{35}$  = perhaps Rayy, the final letter being possibly a doubled *Jod*, argument supported by the coins of Bistām who had his headquarters in that part of Media bordering on Ṭabaristān, i. e. Rayy (the first correct identification, but apparently unnoticed by later numismatic writers). A. D. Mordtmann, *Zur Pehlevi-Münzkunde* (ZDMG, 1879):  $\text{35}$  = RD = Hekatompylos = Shāhrūd, argument recapitulated (pp. 113, 117);  $\text{3}$  = ZD = Zadrakarta = Hauptstadt von Hyrkanien (pg. 120);  $\text{كد}$  and  $\text{ك}$  = RIU or RGU = Rayy, with attack on Nöldeke's opinion that  $\text{35}$  = Rayy, *ری اردشیر* and *ریشهر* not being identical, and Bistām being in Parthia, not in Media; admits that Bistām was once defeated by Khosraw II at Rayy, but this does not prove that during his six years' rebellion he lived at Rayy (pp. 141–142); and Rayy = Rai-Ardeshir, quoting Dimishqi, and arguing rather wildly that  $\text{ك}$  = "Rajan" or "Ragan" or "Raj, Rag", since Pahlavi *ṣ* can be read *n* or *v*, and *v* can be dropped (pp. 141–142). (On *Rêw-Ardašîr*, cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* etc., *Abhandl. K. G. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Ph.-Hist. Klasse, N. F. Band III, no. 2, Berlin, 1901, pg. 27). Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari etc., Leyden, 1879, pg. 486, foot-note 2:  $\text{35}$  = RD = Rayy, recapitulation of argument, and perhaps the absence of Khosraw II's coins of the years 4, 5, 6, 7, are to be explained by his anger against the rebellious city or the fact that Rayy was in ruins, cf. Firdawsi, 1986ff., Mohl VII, 217–221. Ed. Drouin (*Observations sur les monnaies à Légendes en Pehlvi et Pehlvi-Arabe*, in *Rev. Archéologique*, Paris, 1886, pg. 49): the usual reading,  $\text{ك}$  = Rayy. J. de Morgan, *Contributions à l'Étude des Ateliers monétaires sous la Dynastie des Rois Sassanides de Perse* (*Rev. Num.*, Paris, 1913):  $\text{35}$  = RD = راضیان (Hekatompylos near Mōṣul) or راذكان ("bourg du district de Neça"), or روزان (small village of Fārs), or رودبار (the name of several towns near al-Mawṣil, Balkh, Marv, between Rasht and Qazwīn etc., (sect. 131, pp. 488–489 — De Morgan made these blind suggestions, even though he called attention to the fact that this mint seemed to be the most important and productive of all the Sasanian mints! I know of no instance in which the issue is so admirably confused as in this contribution);  $\text{3}$  = ZD or ID = Zadrakarta or زیتان on the Persian Gulf (sect. 183, pp. 505–506);  $\text{ك}$  etc. = RIU = Rayy, "cette identification est fort acceptable" (sect. 134, pg. 490); along with this a quantity of uselessly perpetuated mistaken readings and forms of  $\text{ك}$ , identified as "villes inconnues" and as Rām, راش، راسك، (Er Ran), etc., — sections 129, pg. 488; 135–137, pp. 490–491; 142–144, pg. 492). Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, Bombay, 1924:  $\text{35}$  = RD = everything that the above cited scholars had suggested before, and with no contribution of his own, but implying that Hekatompylos is the correct identification (no. 163, pg. 172);  $\text{3}$  = ZD = Zadrakarta, no opinion of Paruck's (no. 238,



pp. 188-189);  $\mu\varsigma$  etc. etc. = RIU = Rayy, Paruck apparently accepting the Rayy identification but not giving his own opinion (nos. 172-177, pp. 174-176). Cf. also W. H. Valentine, *Sassanian Coins*, London, 1921, where lists are drawn up according to Mordtmann; and J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, Paris, 1924, pp. 297-299, with no new contributions and the customary false identifications.

The correct identification has been convincingly made by E. Herzfeld. Nöldeke's suggestion was correct but he wrote before the discovery of Pahlevi material that makes the identification certain. Professor Herzfeld has pointed out that the Pahlevi Commentary to Vid. I, 15, gives both forms, Raya and Ray; and that on the (unpublished) inscription of Sar Mashhad the form  $\alpha\lambda$  = RGY is used, while on the coins we find  $\alpha\varsigma$  = RDY (E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, II, 2, pg. 96)<sup>1</sup>. Actually the common form on the coins is the simple  $\varsigma$ , but note the specimens of Bahrām V and Khosraw II mentioned above where the inscription is said to be  $\alpha\varsigma$  or  $\alpha\lambda$ . In any case the letter  $\alpha$  represents here, as in many other instances, the generalized *casus obliquus* termination (derived from the *O. P.* genitive). It is the lapidary equivalent of the terminal downward stroke (*v*) in MS, and sometimes numismatic, Pahlevi. In lapidary Pahlevi, *g*, *d* and *i* are differentiated. In MS Pahlevi they are not. Both *g* and *d* had in pre-Sasanian times changed to *i/y*. Hence we have in lapidary  $\lambda$  = RG a representation of spoken RY (Ray), and in numismatic  $\varsigma$  = RD = RY, the same, with what Herzfeld calls a pseudo-archaic restitution by the Sasanian scribe of D for Y, because it was known at the time that spoken Y often represented "classical" D. This purely graphical and unetymological peculiarity (which Nyberg calls "inverse writing") produces in this case a D which had never existed, and which naturally was never read as D by Sasanian contemporaries who could read the script. Cf. the case of KDY for KY = kay = "king" on coins of Yazdikirt II, Pērōz, and Kawāt I (Herzfeld, *Zarathustra*, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I, Heft 2, foot-note 1, pp. 77-78).

An interesting sidelight on the Rayy mint is afforded by the coins of Bistām (Vistahm), who revolted against Khosraw II during the years ca. 592-596 A. D., and who struck coins bearing the regnal years 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (and perhaps 10), all of them with the mint mark  $\varsigma$ , Rayy. (Cf. Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen and Paris, 1936, pp. 439-442). Bistām's field of revolt was all of Khurāsān, and Rayy seems to have been his capital. These coins of this rebel king's are very scarce but no single specimen has come to light with any mint monogram other than  $\varsigma$ , Rayy. I should like to suggest (only briefly here for want of space) that the tale of the other rebel Bahrām Chōbīn's having struck 100,000 *dirhams* at Rayy in the name of Khosraw Parvīz during the life time of Hormizd IV in order to set father and son at variance, has an historical basis in the Rayy issues of Bistām. The legendary embellishments of the story and the mistaken attribution to Bahrām Chōbīn, the popular hero and a contemporary of Bistām's, are quite in keeping with the mythical character of oriental historiography. The fact that Bahrām was a native of Rayy (Tab. I, 992) lent credence to the tale. The story is told, with a description of the

<sup>1</sup> Professor Herzfeld acknowledged to me the slip in this foot-note where he speaks of "all of Bahrām Chōbīn's coins" — he meant, of course, Bistām's (see below).

coins, by Bal'ami in his Persian translation of Ṭabari (Transl. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-ben-Djarir* etc., Paris 1867, II, pp. 268-269). It is not to be found in the original Arabic Ṭabari. I was unable to find the account in the Cawnpore 1896 Persian edition of Bal'ami-Ṭabari. Cf. Ya'qūbi, I, pg. 190: وسار بهرام حتى صار الى الرى ثم

دبر ان يوقع بين هرمز وبين ابنه كسرى ابرويز شرًا وكان هرمز متهماً لابنه وكان قد بلغه ان قوما قد حملوه على ان يثب بابه فضرب دراهم كثيرة وصير عليها اسم كسرى ابرويز وبعث بها الى مدينة هرمز فكثرت في ايدي الناس ولما بلغ هرمز خبرها اشتد غمّه فاراد ان يحبس ابنه كسرى ابرويز فلما بلغ ابرويز

الخبر هرب الى آذربيجان; al-Tha'ālibi, ed. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900, pp. 658-659; Dīnawari, pg. 86; Mas'ūdi, II, pg. 214; Firdawsi, Mohl, VI, pg. 554. Cf. also Sir William Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East* etc., London, 1819-1823, III, pp. 195-198, where he quotes the Persian from his Bal'ami ms; E. Thomas, N. C., 1873, pp. 236ff.; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, etc., Leyden, 1879, pp. 276, 474ff. The story is also, I believe, referred to in Nizāmi's "Khosraw and Shirin". (I do not find it in A. Christensen's analysis of the Romance of Bahrām Chōbīn: *Romanen om Bahrām Tschōbīn et Rekonstruktionsforsøg*, in *Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning*, no. 75, Copenhagen, 1907).

## II. THE ARAB-SASANIAN COINAGE OF RAYY

The following list of *dirhams* issued at the Rayy mint during the period between the Arab conquest of Rayy in 21 A. H. (or 18, according to some authorities) and the beginning of the reformed currency, the first specimen of which is of the year 81 (cf. no. 14 below), is simply an inventory of the examples that have come to my attention. For the moment the doubtful monogram  $\text{R} = \text{R}(\text{not Z?})\text{D}$ , as well as the almost certain one  $\text{RD}$ , is included; naturally if a more satisfactory explanation of  $\text{R}$  is ultimately arrived at, all the specimens with these two letters should be struck out. It is my hope that sometime in the near future I shall be able to describe the anonymous and Arab governor coins of the Sasanian type in detail together with a full treatment of the historical background of the city during this period. The only virtue in the following catalogue is that there are assembled here in one place references to specimens of nearly all, I think, of the Arab-Sasanian type issues of the Rayy mint that have been published together with a few unpublished specimens. Mr. John Walker of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, is at present occupied in the compilation of an exhaustive study of the early Arab coinage, and his catalogue will doubtless add much to this cursory list. References to Tabari or other Arabic chronicles or histories following the numismatic entries are given to serve as material for a skeleton background of the political history of the given year as such history bears directly or indirectly upon Rayy. During the first century of the Hijrah we seldom have a reference to the actual governor or prefect charged with the administration of this city. Hence many of the historical citations are simply to the passage in the chronicles where we can find the name of the governor or viceregent of the province to which Rayy belonged. The anonymous coinage of the earlier years throws no light on the government or political history of the city, and the coinage with the governor's name recorded affords us very little more information. Wherever the Kufic inscriptions were noted in the original publication of the coin they are recorded here.

1. R.  $\text{R} = \text{R}(\text{?})\text{D}$ . Anonymous. Year 21.

Type and name of Yazdikirt.

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1880, no. 560, pg. 160.

(Year 21: Tab. I, 2634; Balādhuri, 317-318: conquest of Rayy.)

2. R.  $\text{R} = \text{R}(\text{?})\text{D}$ . Anonymous. Year 26.

Type and name of Khosraw II.  $\text{بسم الله ربي}$

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879, no. 3, pg. 84.

(Year 22: Tab. I, 2647: reported conquest of Rayy in 18. Tab. I, 2650-2657: conquest of Rayy under Nu'aym b. Muqrin. Tab. I, 2681-2682: Yazdikirt's passage through Rayy. Usurpation of the seals of the city by Abān Jādhwiyyah. Year 24: Tab. I, 2805: soldiers of al-Kūfah at Rayy.)



3. R. **35** = RD. Anonymous. Year 29.

Type and name of Khosraw II. **بسم الله**

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879, no. 6, pg. 84.

(Year 29: Tab. I, 2828ff.: Abu-Mūsa al-Ash'ari deposed; 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir becomes governor of al-Baṣrah.)

4. R. **35** = R(?)D. Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān. Year 30.

Type of Khosraw II. **بسم الله ربى**

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1880, no. 562, pg. 161.

(Year 31: Tab. I, 2885: Ziyād b. 'Āmir governor of al-Baṣrah.)

Mordtmann must have been mistaken. Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān's coins are 43, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56; governor of al-Baṣrah in 46, ruler of all al-'Irāq (i. e. the entire East) in 50, died in 57 (?). Cf. Tab. and Balādhuri, indices; Lammens, Ziyād b. Abihi, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, IV, 1912; Thomas, JRAS, 1850, pp. 284ff. Even changing the date to the Yazdikirt era does not help.

- 5A. R. **35** = RD. Anonymous. Year 32.

Type and name of Khosraw II. **بسم الله**

Thomas, JRAS, 1850, pg. 282 (Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1854, no. 750, pg. 150); B. M., unpublished.

- 5X. R. **35** = R(?)D. Anonymous. Year 35.

Type and name of Khosraw II. **بسم الله**

Beschreibung einer Sammlung von Sassanidenmünzen (Karabacek), *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, I, Hefte III—IV, Wien, 1865, pg. 67, no. 119.

(Two coins, year 35, **35** = RIU, Thomas, JRAS, 1850, pg. 282 (Mordtmann, ZDMG 1854, nos. 753-4, pg. 150), cf. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, I, 367, do not belong here. Besides, the supposed Kufic inscription is not Kufic.)

- 6A. R. **35** = RD. Anonymous. Year 37.

Type and name of Khosraw II.

Sir Richard Burn's Collection, unpublished (personal communication of Mr. John Walker, B. M.).

- 6B. R. **35** = R(?)D. Anonymous. Year 37.

Type and name of Khosraw II. **ولى الله ...**

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1865, no. 153, pg. 464 — "Eine schiitische Münze" (!); Paris, no. 138.

(Year 37: Tab. I, 3352, ll. 6-8: 'Ali gives the government of Rayy and Iṣbahān to Yazīd b. Qays al-Hamadhāni.)

- 7A. R. **35** = RD. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 60.

Type of Khosraw II.

B. M., unpublished.

7B. R. 3 = R(?)D. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 60.

Type of Khosraw II. بسم الله

Berlin, no. 117; Herzfeld Collection; ANS.

(Year 60: Tab. II, 281: 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād governor of Rayy.)

8A. R. 35 = RD. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 61.

Type of Khosraw II.

Spink's Numismatic Circular, Dec., 1935, col. 433, nos. S416-420; B. M., unpublished.

8B. R. 3 = R(?)D. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 61.

Type of Khosraw II. بسم الله

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879, no. 56, pg. 94; Stickel, Handbuch II, no. 45, pg. 89 (illustr.); Berlin, nos. 118-119; Herzfeld Collection.

9A. R. 35 = RD. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 62.

Type of Khosraw II.

Thomas, JRAS, 1850, no. 12, pg. 291 (Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1854, no. 782, pg. 155; ZDMG, 1879, no. 56, pg. 94); V. A. Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, pg. 229, no. 1; Spink's Numismatic Circular, Dec., 1935, col. 433, nos. S421-422; B. M., unpublished.

9B. R. 3 = R(?)D. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 62.

Type of Khosraw II. بسم الله

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1858, no. 297, pg. 51 (ZDMG, 1879, no. 56, pg. 94); Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879, no. 57, pg. 94; Herzfeld Collection (two dies, *do shast* and *ilyn shast*); ANS.

10. R. 3 = R(?)D. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 63.

Type of Khosraw II. بسم الله

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1858, no. 299, pg. 51 (ZDMG, 1879, no. 60, pg. 95); Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879, no. 62, pg. 95; Herzfeld Collection (two dies).

11. R. 3 = R(?)D (or 35 = RD?). "Ezlem bin Sufah". Year 67.

Type of Khosraw II.

Thomas, JRAS, 1850, no. XIX (no. 58) (Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1854, no. 861, pg. 169).

(Could this be Aslam b. Zur'ah al-Kilābi? Cf. Tab. II, 65, 81, 168, 172, 179-180, 189, 390-391: Khurāsān, years 43, 45, 53, 55, 56; arrested, year 59.)

12. R. 3 = R(?)D. 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. Year 68.

Type of Khosraw II.

Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1879, no. 68, pg. 95; Berlin, no. 120.

13. R. 3 = R(?)D. Bishr b. Marwān. Year 74.

Type of Khosraw II.

Walker, N.C., 1934, pp. 284-288 (with suggestion زادقن).

(Year 71: Tab. II, 817: Yazīd b. Ruwaym governor of Rayy. Anonymous Chronicle, 32: Ḥawshab b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym governor of Rayy, cf. *ibid.*, pg. 118, appearance of Khawārij at Rayy; Year 74: For Bishr b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, governor of al-'Irāq in year 74, cf. Tab. II, 862, Ya'qūbi, II, 307, 324.)

### III. THE REFORMED ARAB COINAGE OF THE UMAYYAD PERIOD

With the year 81 of the Hijrah at Rayy begins the conventional Umayyad type of coinage introduced by 'Abd-al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj in ca. 77 A. H. There may well have been *dirhams* of Rayy of this type dated before 81 A. H., but the earliest recorded that has come to my attention is of the year 81. With this issue we commence a series that, in the *dirhams* at least, continues without variation of form until the years immediately preceding the 'Abbāsīd revolt in 132, when the culmination of the political successes in Khurāsān and the eastern provinces generally begins a new era in the oriental empire, a revolution which unavoidably required a recognizable change in the formulae of the coinage, which, as always in the Islāmic states, went hand in hand with the acknowledgment of sovereignty and allegiance in the *khutbah* or official prayers. The formulae of the Umayyad currency are well known. Till the beginning of 'Abbāsīd supremacy, with the *dirhams* at least, there is no necessity of repeating the following formulae for each issue.

#### 14. R. Al-Rayy. Year 81.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله احد الله
الله وحده	الصمد لم يلدو
لا شريك له	لم يولد ولم يكن
	له كفوا احد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرّي في سنة احدى وثمانين

*Rev. margin:* مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللَّهِ أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظَاهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ

الْمُشْرِكُونَ (Qur'ān, IX, 33.)

(With only occasional minor alterations in annulets and border, and very rarely in the assignment of words to the lines, the stereotyped form represented here is constant in the silver till the overthrow of the Umayyad rule.)

Codrington, N.C., 1902, pg. 268; B. M., 1922/7/17, no. 50. (Is this perhaps the same coin as that described by Codrington and later acquired by the B. M.?)

Governor of al-'Irāq and al-Mashriq<sup>1</sup> in the year 80: Al-Ḥajjāj. (Tab. II, 1047, ll. 3-5; 1063, ll. 9-10.)

<sup>1</sup> Until the rise of the Persian dynasties, the government of Rayy (and of other cities in Irān) was under the administrative offices of al-'Irāq (al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah). At times the governor of Rayy was answerable to a governor-general of the East (al-Mashriq) or a governor of Khurāsān. Hence, throughout the first and second centuries I have continued to give the names of the incumbents of these high offices.

15. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 82.*

Codrington, N.C., 1902, pg. 268; B. M., 1922/7/17, no. 114 (the same coin?).

16. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 84.*

B. M. i, no. 119 (illustr. Pl. II).

In 83, Qutaybah b. Muslim, who had been sent out by al-Ḥajjāj, put to flight Umar b. abi-al-Ṣalt, who had taken possession of Rayy. Qutaybah was then invested with the governorship of Rayy. (Ṭab. II, 1118, l. 16-1119, l. 3.)

17. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 90.*

B. M. i, no. 120; Ties. no. 329 (with reference to W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*).

Al-Ḥajjāj was still, as in the year 87, administrator of al-ʿIrāq and the entire East; in al-Baṣrah, his lieutenant was al-Jarraḥ b. ʿAbdullāh; in Khurāsān, Qutaybah b. Muslim. (Ṭab. II, 1208, ll. 5-8.)

18. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 91.*

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 440, pg. 21; B. M., 1905/12/6, no. 19.

19. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 92.*

Paris, no. 284; ANS (two specimens).

20. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 93.*

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, VI, N.C., 1887, pg. 325; Paris, no. 285; B. M., 1905/10/12, no. 17.

21. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 94.*

B. M. i, no. 121; Paris, no. 286; Ties., no. 400 (with two references); Istanbul, unnumbered.

Over the East, al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, the same governors as in the year 90 continued in office. (Ṭab. II, 1266, ll. 13-15.)

22. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 95.*

Lettre du Prince Alexandre Gagarine à M. F. Soret sur Quelques Monnaies orientales Inédites de sa Collection, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1862, pg. 460; Paris, no. 287; Ties., no. 421 (with two references); Istanbul, unnumbered; ANS.

Al-Ḥajjāj died in Ramaḍān or Shawwāl of this year. (Ṭab. II, 1217, ll. 7-8; 1268, l. 5.) Yazīd b. abi-Kabshah was military and civil governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah; the tax collector for these provinces was Yazīd b. abi-Muslim. (Ṭab. II, 1268, l. 5-1269, l. 2.)

23. *Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 96.*

Cairo, no. 129; E. T. Rogers, *Notes on some inedited coins of the Dynasty of the Khalifahs of Bani Umeya*, N.C., N. Ser., Vol. XIV, pg. 350.

Yazīd b. abi-Muslim and Yazīd b. abi-Kabshah (see no. 22 above) were displaced; Yazīd b. al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah was appointed to the government of al-ʿIrāq, and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān to the tax-collectorship of the province. Qutaybah b. Muslim was killed (Ṭab. II, 1284, l. 4-1304, l. 20) and Waqīʿ b. abi-Sūd took his place in Khurāsān. (Ṭab. II, 1282, ll. 16-18; 1305, ll. 13-17.)

24. *AR*. Al-Rayy. Year 97.

B. M. Add. i, no. 121c, pg. 33; Berlin, no. 452; Guthrie Collection, no. 109; Paris, no. 383.

The Caliph Sulaymān appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to the governorship of Khurāsān. The latter sent his son Makhlad to arrest Waqī' b. abi-Sūd (see no. 23 above). (Tab. II, 1306, l.10-1314, l.2.)

25. *AR*. Al-Rayy. Year 98.

B. M., i, no. 122; Ties., no. 464 (one reference); Ties., no. 2739 (one reference); ANS.

Makhlad (see no. 24 above) controlled Khurāsān. (The government of al-'Irāq remained unchanged.) (Tab. II, 1318, l.2.)

26. *Æ*. Al-Rayy. Year 101.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
امر الله	بسم الله
بالوفاء	ضرب هذا
والعدل	الفلس بالرى سنة
••	احدى ومئة

B. M. i, cop. no. 72 (illustr. Pl. VIII); ANS; Rayy, 1934, RB 961 (date obscure); Rayy, 1936, RCi 7340 (another die, with dots beneath the reverse area thus: ••).

(Leggett lists a Rayy *dirham* of the year 101, but this, along with a good many other unique coins on Leggett's table, I am strongly inclined to reject. Many errors are likely to creep into such lists. Leggett's sources were: the B. M. catalogues, E. T. Rogers Bey, C. J. Rodgers, Esq., Col. Guthrie, and his own collection (see preface, pp. v-vi, Notes on the Mint-Towns, etc.)

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, after having been imprisoned in the year 100 (Tab. II, 1349, ll.16ff.), rebelled in 101 and took possession of al-Baṣrah. (Tab. II, 1359, l.12-1361, l.3; 1379, l.5-1394, l.8; 1394, l.15.) 'Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym, who had been named for the post in the year 100 (Tab. II, 1356), was governor of Khurāsān in 101. (Tab. II, 1394, ll.15-16.)

27. *Æ*. Al-Rayy. Year 104.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
••	••
امر الله	بسم الله
بالوفاء	ضرب هذا
والعدل	الفلس بالرى سنة
••	اربع ومئة
	••



The descriptions relating to the pellets above and below the obverse and reverse vary, but the variations are probably due to the state of preservation of the different specimens, and the recorded specimens are probably all of one style if not from one die.

B. M. i, cop. no. 73; Berlin, nos. 2012, 2013 (the last line of the obverse is transcribed *وبالعدل*); Rayy, 1934, RGQ 2024.

(Leggett lists a Rayy *dirham* of 104, probably to be rejected; see the note under no. 26 above.)

‘Umar b. Hubayrah, governor of al-‘Irāq and all the Mashriq (Ṭab. II, 1461, l. 16), removes Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr al-Ḥarashi from the Khurāsān post and replaces him by Muslim b. Sa‘īd b. Aslam b. Zur‘ah b. ‘Amr b. Khuwaylid al-Ṣa‘īq (or Muslim b. Sa‘īd b. Aslam al-Kilābi) (Ṭab. II, 1453, l. 15–1461, l. 11, 1457, ll. 10–12).

28. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 110.

*Obv.*

••  
امر الله  
بالوفاء  
والعدل  
لداريس

Beaded border.

*Rev.*

••  
بسم الله  
ضرب هذا  
لفلس بالري سنة  
عشر ومئة

Beaded border.

GCM, two specimens (GCM, year 11X, is probably also this date).<sup>1</sup>

As in the year 109, Khālīd b. ‘Abdullāh governed in al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; Ashras b. ‘Abdullāh, who had been named for Khurāsān in 109, continued in the post in 110. (Ṭab. II, 1506, l. 6, l. 9; 1507, l. 3–1512, l. 6.)

The Pahlavi inscription on this coin is similar to that on the coins of the year 116 (Istanbul specimen assigned to 113), described under no. 30 below. No effort was made to decipher the legend until Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe made an attempt in the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, Tome XX, *Mission en Susiane*, pp. 50–52. The explanation offered with hesitation there (“lepton deux fois”) is too fanciful and far-fetched in every way to merit serious consideration. The line is almost certainly to be transcribed  $R_G^D Y$  (=Ray) RAVAN (cf. the discussion of the identification of the Sasanian  $35$  mint monogram in the introductory remarks on the etymology of Rayy, etc.); and can be translated “Rayy current”, or, in other words, current in Rayy<sup>2</sup>. Another form, also derived from *raftan*, “to

<sup>1</sup> There is perhaps another specimen in Dr. J. M. Unvala’s collection (cf. foot-note immediately below).

<sup>2</sup> This reading was first suggested to me by Dr. J. M. Unvala of the French Expedition at Susa, and Dr. Herzfeld has agreed that this interpretation is a likely one. After the present material had already been set in type, Dr. Unvala’s interesting contribution, *Quelques Monnaies Arabes à Légendes Pehlevies et quelques autres Monnaies bilingues Pehlevie-Arabes* appeared in the N. C., 1937, pp. 280–296. Specimens from Susa where “šuš rowāk” (RVB’K) is entirely clear tend to indicate that the reading here should be RVB’K rather than RaVAN, but no specimen which I have examined is clear enough to fix the identity of the final consonant. Dr. Unvala does not indicate the literal reading of the Pahlavi letters for “Rayy”. Does he mean that the letters are to be transcribed *rai* (pg. 295)? His drawing of the inscription as it appears on the issue of 116

go", is found in MS Pahlevi spelled **𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥**, literally RVB'K, actually pronounced *ravāk*, defined by H. S. Nyberg (*Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, Upsala, 1931, II, pg. 194) as "in Gang gekommen, laufend"; cf. the word in Pahlevi characters, *ibid.* I, pg. 51. *Rw'ij*, current, is a similar term employed later by die-engravers to indicate genuineness or validity, as for example, till quite recently on the modern coins of Persia (رائج مملکت ایران, current in the Empire of Īrān).

29. Æ. Al-Rayy (?). Year 115 (?).

*Obv.*

.....

....𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥....

[?] شريك....

*Obv. margin:* Traces?

(Very primitive execution.)

Rayy, 1936, CT 118.

*Rev.*

...الله [?]

....𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥....

بالر [?] سنة خمس...

...د [?] ومئة

The government of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah was in the hands of Khālīd b. 'Abdullāh as in the years 109, 111, and 113; al-Junayd b. 'Abd-al-Rahmān al-Mazānī, named in 111, was over Khurāsān. (Tab. II, 1506, l. 6; 1527, ll. 2-3; 1560, l. 15.)

30. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 116.

*Obv.*

امر الله

بالوفاء

والعدل

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 [?]

Beaded border.

*Rev.*

••

بسم الله

ضرب هذا

الفلس بالرى سنة ست

عشر ومئة

••

Beaded border.

*Variation A:* No •• beneath the reverse area, and obverse bears a linear border. *Variation B:* Second line of the obverse bears a pellet: بالوفا. *Variation C:* Pellet above

امر, obverse; pellet beneath الوفا, obverse; ••• (possibly only two) above reverse;

(cf. no. 30 below) is not clear in respect to the letter or letters immediately following the R (op. cit., no. 55, pg. 284); no clearer in fact than in the "copie inexacte" of Allotte de la Fuyé and Lavoix (nos. 72 and 73, pg. 284). Dr. Unvala describes and illustrates (op. cit., pg. 295, no. 32, and Pl. XXXIV, no. 32.) a specimen in his own collection attributed to the year 116, but ست and the ع عشر are effaced; and to judge by the photograph, his coin is from a die similar to, if not identical with, the one from which one of my coins of the year 110 was struck; there is surely no room for the digit 6.

•• beneath reverse. *Variation D*: Above obverse ••; beneath obverse ••. *Variation E*: A specimen at Istanbul, with •• above the area of the obverse and no •• beneath the area of the reverse, assigned to the year 113 and illustrated (Pl. 2). The illustration is, however, illegible to me at least, as regards the ثلث of the date, and I am inclined to believe that the word is ست, easily misread ثلث on an obscure specimen.

B.M.i, cop. no. 74; Istanbul, no. 276; Paris, nos. 1473, 1474; ANS; Rayy, 1934, RB 939, 995, 1010, RGQ 1991, RE 2869 (all obscure); Rayy, 1936, RG 8201.

(Leggett lists a Rayy *dirham* of 116, probably to be rejected; see the note under no. 26 above.)

Al-Junayd b. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Mazani (cf. no. 29 above) was removed from Khurāsān, and dying shortly thereafter left the government of that province to 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym al-Murri (Tab. II, 1565, ll. 1–2). The Caliph Hishām sent 'Āsim b. 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī to govern Khurāsān. The latter arrested and imprisoned 'Umārah and his lieutenants (Tab. II, 1564, l. 6–1565, l. 15). Khālīd b. 'Abdullāh continued as governor of al-'Irāq, cf. year 110, no. 28 above (Tab. II, 1658, ll. 14–15).

31A. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 120.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	بسم الله
الله وحده	ضرب هذا
لا شريك له	الفلس بالري سنة
••	عشرين ومئة
	••

Berlin, no. 2014 (reverse illustrated Pl. VI), no. 2015 (the dots are represented ••); Stickel ZDMG, 1856, no. 5, pg. 293 (Ties., no. 606); Istanbul, unnumbered (date obscure); GCM, two specimens; Rayy, 1935, RCi 4025, 4097 (both poorly preserved).

31B. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 120.

Obv.	Reverse as no. 31 A.
لا اله الا	
الله وحده	
ما ثلثي شكاً	

(i. e., retrograde.)

ANS, unnumbered.

(An amusing coin of very inferior workmanship. The die-engraver can be forgiven perhaps for having fallen asleep over the 3rd line of the obverse; — but how did the die ever happen to be used and the coins go into circulation?)

Khālīd b. 'Abdullāh, who had had control not only of al-'Irāq but of all the East as well from 117 onward (Tab. II, 1586, l. 8), fell into disgrace. Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who was authorized



to arrest him, became governor of the eastern provinces. (Ṭab. II, 1641, l. 1–1658, l. 17.) In Khurāsān, events had been as follows: Asad b. ‘Abdullāh, who had directed the affairs of the province from the year 118, died in 120 (Ṭab. II, 1591, ll. 18–19); he left the government to Ja‘far b. Ḥanzalah al-Bahrāni, who remained in office only four months (Ṭab. II, 1638, ll. 11–13). Yūsuf b. ‘Umar, the new governor of the East, removed him and gave Khurāsān to Juday‘ b. ‘Ali al-Karmāni (Ṭab. II, 1659, ll. 1–2), who was in turn deposed and replaced by the famous Naṣr b. Sayyār (b. Layth b. Rāfi‘ b. Rabī‘ah b. Juray b. ‘Auf b. ‘Āmir b. Junda‘ b. Layth b. Bakr b. ‘Abd-Manāh b. Kinānah) (Ṭab. II, 1635, l. 15–1639, l. 12; 1659, l. 1–1666, l. 10).

(Ṭabari mentions the lieutenants named by Naṣr in Balkh, Marw al-Rūdh, Harāt, Abrashahr, Khwārizm and Sughd (Ṭab. II, 1664, ll. 13–19). It is clear that Rayy was still, at this date, under the control, at least in principle, of the governor of al-‘Irāq.)

### 32. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 121.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	بسم الله
الله وحده	ضرب هذا
لا شريك له	الفلس بالري سنة احدى و
••	عشرين ومئة
	••

(The assignment of the words to the lines of the reverse is not indicated in the description of the Zambaur specimen.)

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 3, pg. 44; Rayy, 1934, RGQ 2061 (reverse dots effaced), RC 2626.

(Probably to this date should be assigned also the obscure specimens, where either date or mint or other details are effaced: Rayy, 1934, RGQ 2033, RD 2123, RB 2622.)

Yūsuf b. ‘Umar continued over al-‘Irāq and its dependencies (i. e. the East), and Naṣr b. Sayyār over Khurāsān. (Cf. the year 120, no. 31 above). (Ṭab. II, 1698, ll. 5–7).

### 33. Æ. Al-Rayy (?). Year 122.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	بسم الله ضرب
الله وحده	ب هذا الفلس
لا شريك له	بالري [؟] سنة اثنين و
••	... عشرين ومئة

Bartholomae à Soret I, no. 44, pp. 346–347 (illustr. Pl. XIV, fig. 4) (Ties., no. 615).

(Bartholomae omitted the و in the 3rd line of the reverse, but it is clear in the illustration; he believed the mint to be uncertain but that it could only be al-Rayy. The

illustration proves both the mint and the عشرين to be strange, but there is a good likelihood that the assignment of both date and mint is correct.)

The political situation was as in the year 121. (Tab. II, 1698, ll. 5-6.)

34. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 124.

*Obv.*

Traces of three line inscription.

*Rev.*

بسم الله ضر  
ب هذا الفلس  
بالرى سنة اربع و  
عشرين [و] مئة

(Border, if any, effaced.)

Rayy, 1934, RGQ 1992, RD 2160 (mint effaced).

Yūsuf b. 'Umar and Naṣr b. Sayyār continued to govern al-'Irāq and Khurāsān respectively, although Yūsuf attempted to persuade the Caliph Hishām to displace Naṣr and give Khurāsān to al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt. (Tab. II, 1718, l. 9-1719, l. 10).

35. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 127.

*Obv.*

بسم الله ضر  
ب هذا الفلس  
بالرى سنة سبع و  
عشرين ومئة

*Rev.*

نما امر به  
الامير عبد الله  
بن معاوية

*Rev. margin:* قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَى (Qur'ān, XLII, 22.)

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 5, pg. 45 (a similar reverse is illustrated in Paris, no. 1588, Pl. IX; cf. no. 36 below).

This coin is the first contemporary documentary evidence of the success of the 'Alid-'Abbāsīd revolutionary faction at Rayy. 'Abdullāh b. Mu'āwiyah, whose name appears on the reverse of the coin, had revolted at al-Kūfah in Muḥarram, 127. Thence he proceeded to al-Madā'in and on to al-Jibāl, later making his headquarters at Iṣbahān and in 129, Iṣṭakhr (Tab. II, 1879ff.; 1976ff.). His occupation of al-Māhayn (i. e. Dīnawar and Nihāwand), Hamadhān, Qūmis, Iṣbahān and Rayy seems to have been before the end of 127 (Tab. II, 1880, l. 20), but this is not expressly stated, and I question just a little whether Zambaur's digit *seven* might not be the very similar Kufic digit *nine*. However, *seven* seems just barely possible.



No mint, year 13X ('Abdullāh ?) Berlin, no. 2065

No mint (?), year 13X (abu-Mus-

lim) ..... Rayy, 1934, RF 3254

Mint effaced, year 132? ..... B.M. i, cop. no. 79, and (?) Rayy, 1935, RH 5012

The issue of al-Kūfah, year 128 bears the Khārijite "war-cry" **لَا حُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ** "Judgment belongs to God alone" (a variation of Qur'ān, XII, 40 etc.).

Ṭabari's informants supply us with the so to speak official chronicle as opposed to the vulgar testimony of the local coinage. In Rajab, 126, the Caliph had sent Maṣṣūr b. Jamhūr (vocalized Jumhūr in Ṭab. II, 1836, l. 6) to govern al-'Irāq (Ṭab. II, 1836, l. 5-1845, l. 13; 1850, ll. 4-5). Subsequently, in the same year, Maṣṣūr was removed, again on the order of the Caliph, and 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz b. Marwān was named in his place (Ṭab. II, 1854, l. 8-1855, l. 10; 1875, ll. 4-6). In Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār refused to recognize the authority of Jamhūr; when 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar took office in al-'Irāq (and over the East), he confirmed Naṣr in the latter's government of Khurāsān, but Naṣr found difficulty in exercising his authority due to the increasing political disorder accompanying the decline of the Umayyad power and the rise of the 'Abbāsīd party in the East (Ṭab. II, 1855, l. 11-1866, l. 17; 1875, ll. 7-8).

### 36A. A. Al-Rayy. Year 129.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

الله احد الله

الصمد لم يلد و

لم يولد ولم يكن

له كفوا احد

*Obv. inner margin:* (Qur'ān, XLII, 22.) **قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَىٰ**

*Obv. outer margin:* بسم الله ضرب بالري سنة تسع وعشرين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 558 (illustr., Pl. III).

### 36B. A. Al-Rayy. Year 129.

*Obv.*

بسم الله ضرب

هذا الفلّس

بالري سنة تسع

وعشرين ومئة

*Rev.*

مما امر به

الامير عبد الله

بن معاوية

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XLII, 22.

Paris, no. 1588 (illustr., Pl. IX); Rayy, 1935, RCi 3572 (largely effaced, possibly 127); Rayy 1936, RG 8548 (date obscure, 12x).

## 36c. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 129.

*Obv.*

بسم الله ضرب  
ب هذا الفلس  
بالرى سنة تسع  
[و] [ع] [ش] [ر] [ي] [ن] [و] [م] [ئ] [ة]

*Rev.*

مما امر به ا  
لامير عبد الله  
بن معوية

*Rev. margin:* As no. 36 B.

ANS.

## 36d. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 129.

*Obv.*

بسم الله ضرب  
ب هذا الفلس  
بالرى سنة تسع و  
عشرين ومئة

*Rev.*

مما امر به الا  
مير عبد الله  
بن معوية

Traces of reverse margin.

Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn.

In 128, the Caliph had sent a new governor to al-‘Irāq, Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah (Tab. II, 1941, ll. 20–21), who confirmed Naṣr b. Sayyār in Khurāsān (Tab. II, 1917). ‘Abdullāh b. Mu‘āwiyah, by 129 undisputed master of al-Jibāl, including Iṣbahān, Qūmis, Rayy and Ḥulwān (Tab. II, 1976, ll. 8–11), in this year took over Fārs as well, but in a battle with the new governor of the East, ibn-Hubayrah, was beaten and fled from Iṣṭakhr (Tab. II, 1976, l. 4–1981, l. 6) to Khurāsān where he was executed by abu-Muslim.

(Bartholomae published a coin, — Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 46, pp. 347–348, illustr. Pl. XIV, fig. 5 (Ties., no. 607), — struck at Rayy in 12(?)X, by Muḥammad (?) b. Thaml (?), or perhaps Naṣr (?). The coin was obviously in very poor preservation and the illustrated drawing is illegible in the significant parts of the inscriptions. I have not been able to find any one in the chronicles by the names suggested. Only a better preserved specimen could solve the question.)

## 37A. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 130.

*Obv.*

بسم الله ضرب  
هذا الفلس  
بالرى سنة  
ثلاثين ومئة

*Rev.*

مما امر به  
الامير يزد [sic]  
بن عمر

Rayy, 1935, RCi 4045.



## 37b. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 130.

*Obv.*

بسم الله  
ضرب هذا الفلّس  
بالرى سنة  
ثلثين ومئة

*Rev.*

••  
مما امر به  
الامير يزيد  
بن عمر

Berlin, no. 2016; Berlin, 187/1893 (probably the same coin as no. 2016).<sup>1</sup>

## 37c. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 130.

*Obv.*

بسم الله  
ضرب هذا  
الفلّس بالرى سنة  
ثلثين ومئة

*Rev.*

مما امر به ا  
لامير مـكـس  
عاصم [؟]  
.....

This poorly preserved and probably misinterpreted coin is in all likelihood the same as no. 37 D below.

Cairo, no. 849.

## 37d. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 130.

*Obv.*

بسم الله  
ضرب هذا ا  
لفلّس بالرى سنة  
ثلثين ومئة

*Rev.*

•  
مما امر به  
الامير يزيد بن  
عمر على يدى  
حبيب بن بديل

Annulets: ○○○○○○○○ between inner  
beaded and outer linear borders.  
GCM; Rayy, 1934, RD 2530.

Double beaded border.

## 37e. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 130.

*Obv.*

بسم الله  
ضرب هذا ا  
لفلّس بالرى سنة  
ثلثين ومئة

*Rev.*

مما امر به  
الامير يزيد  
بن عمر على يدى  
حبيب بن بديل

Annulets: ○○○○○○○○○ between inner  
beaded and outer linear borders.  
GCM; Rayy, 1936, RGQ 8658.

Double beaded border.

The governor Yazīd b. ‘Umar, whose name appears on nos. 37 A, 37 B, 37 D and 37 E, is the same Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah referred to as governor of al-‘Irāq and the East under no. 36 above (year 129). Yazīd continued in 130 as governor of the East, while Naṣr b. Sayyār, officially still governor of Khurāsān, appealed to his overlord for assistance against the ‘Abbāsīd revolutionary abu-Muslim who had by this time become actual master of Khurāsān (Tab. II, 2000, l. 6–2006, l. 10; 2016, l. 4–2017, l. 13; 2017, ll. 17–22). Naṣr was actually forced to flee before the growing force of abu-Muslim’s attack (Tab. II, 1990).

Ḥabīb b. Budayl, whose name appears on the coins nos. 37 D and 37 E, is mentioned in the chronicles, year 131, as prefect at Rayy. Ṭabari calls him Ḥabīb b. Budayl al-Nahshali (Tab. III, 2, ll. 5–6). These coins prove that Ḥabīb was already prefect in the year 130. His subsequent history appears under the year 131 (see no. 38 below). The family of this Ḥabīb b. Budayl has a greater claim to fame than Ḥabīb’s troubled governorship of Rayy in these transition years. Into the hands of a member of his family (a man of the Banu Nahshal b. Dārim) fell the sword of Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, after the battle of Karbalā’; later, this sword was passed on to Ḥabīb’s family (reported under year 61 in Tab. II, 366, ll. 14–15). Ḥabīb (more probably his father or grandfather) figures also in an *isnād* under the year 67 (Tab. II, 718).

38A. *AR*. Al-Rayy. Year 131.

Description lacking.

Ties., no. 659, with single reference to Tornberg, Symbol II.

38B. *AE*. Al-Rayy. Year 131.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Annulets: ○●○○●○○●

*Obv. margin:* Qur’ān, XLII, 22.

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول الله

بالري

*Rev. margin:* (between two beaded borders) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مِمَّا أَمَرَ بِهِ أَبُو مُسْلِمٍ أَمِيرَ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ سَنَةِ أَحَدَى وَثَلَاثِينَ وَمِئَةً

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 6, pg. 46; S. Lane-Poole, The Oriental Cabinet at Copenhagen, N.C., 1876, pg. 267 (the description is abbreviated, but the probability is that this coin is identical with that of Zambaur).

38C. *AE*. (Al-Rayy?). Year 1(3)1.

*Obv.*

لا اله

الا الله

وحده

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

*Obv. margin:* Qur'ān, XLII, 22.

*Rev. margin:* بما امر به ابو مسلم ..... سنة احدى ..... ومئة

Rayy, 1936, RGQ 8567.

Ibn-Hubayrah continued as governor of al-'Irāq and the East (Ṭab. III, 10). Ḥabīb b. Budayl (cf. no. 37 above), prefect at Rayy, maintained his authority there until he heard that al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, who had been in Qūmis, was approaching Rayy from the East; he then fled from Rayy with all those faithful to the Umayyad cause. Ḥasan entered the city and stayed there until Qaḥṭabah arrived to take over the government of the city for abu-Muslim (Ṭab. III, 3). Ibn-al-Athīr adds to the account in Ṭabari the month Ṣafar, establishing the fact that the present coins, with the interesting inscription, "Abu-Muslim Amīr of the family of Muḥammad", were struck between say Rabī' I and Dhu-al-Ḥijjah.

وبلغ حبيب بن بديل النهشلي ومن معه من اهل الشام مسير الحسن فخرجوا عن الري ودخل الحسن

في صفر فاقام حتى قدم ابوه [i. e. قحطبة] ولما قدم قحطبة الري كتب الى ابي مسلم يعلمه بذلك

(Ibn-al-Athīr, V, 303, ll. 17-20.)

We must place before these events the efforts to obtain peace between Naṣr b. Sayyār and abu-Muslim and the mission of abu-Muslim's to assassinate Naṣr (Ya'qūbi, II, 409-410); as well as Naṣr's arrival and subsequent illness in Rayy. He died in Sāwah, the 12th of Rabī' I, 131 (Ṭab. III, 2, ll. 10-13), that is, shortly after the occupation of Rayy by al-Ḥasan.

### 39. Æ. Al-Rayy. Undated.

*Obv.*

لا اله

الا اله

وحده

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

(No margin.)

Sprig, position not indicated.

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالريّ ○

Bodleian, nos. 28-31.



#### IV. THE 'ABBĀSID PERIOD

##### 40. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 137(?).

Undescribed, except لله above the reverse. The date is obscure and 167 is also suggested. In view of its obscurity together with the fact that the coin cited here is the only example, I am strongly inclined to believe that the issue is to be rejected.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, no. 8a, pg. 223 (Ties., no. 691).

In 137, al-Baṣrah and its dependencies were governed by Sulaymān b. 'Alī; Khurāsān by abu-Dāwūd Khālīd b. Ibrāhīm (Tab. III, 121, ll. 8-10).

##### 41. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 138.

*Obv.*  
(within octagon formed by two squares)

لا اله

الا لله

وحدده

*Rev.* (in a square with 8 annulets at the corners and the middle of the sides)

محمد

رسول

الله

*Obv. margin:* (in the segments) سنة ○ ثمان ○ وثلاثين ○ ومئة ○

*Rev. margin:* (in the segments) بسم الله مما || امر به الامير || جمهور ين المار || بالري

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 49, pp. 350-351, illustr. Pl. I, no. 6 (Ties., no. 698); Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 42, pg. 63; Rayy, 1934, RGQ 2043, RD 2122, RD-G 3501 (obscure, and date effaced); Rayy, 1936, RCi 7349 (digit 8 of date preserved).

Bartholomae was unable to decipher either name; Tiesenhhausen tentatively read the father's name correctly, but not the man's own name; Zambaur read جمهور بن المار. It is true that جمهور is a variant (cf. Tab. III, 64, l. 20, footnote: Codd. جمهور interdum جمهور), but the approved form in Tabari (and cf. Ya'qūbi II, 442) is جمهور, and the spelling is attested by the coins, which cannot read, as Zambaur reads, جمهور. Zambaur has rightly pointed out (loc. cit.) that the numismatic evidence establishes المار in place of the name without the definite article as it occurs in the chronicles.

In the preceding year, 137, Sinbādh of Khurāsān had revolted with the intention of avenging the death of abu-Muslim. He marched toward al-'Irāq, but was halted by Jahwar b. (al)-Marrār (of the present coin), who had been sent against him by the Caliph, in a

battle between Hamadhān and Rayy (Tab. III, 119, l. 11–120, l. 1), and was killed between Tabaristān and Qūmis (Tab. III, 120, l. 2). (Zambaur, after ibn-al-Athīr, gives 138 for the date of this event, but 137 would seem to be correct.) Then, during the year 138, Jahwar, having seized the treasures of abu-Muslim at Rayy, revolted on his own account and drew upon himself the anger of the Caliph, who dispatched Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath against him with a large army. Jahwar was defeated and fled to Adharbayjān where he was finally captured and executed. (Tab. III, 122, ll. 6–14; cf. Mas'ūdi, VI, 188, l. 6–189, l. 4, who has the revolution of Sinbādh wrongly dated in 136.)

42. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 139.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله	رسول
وحده	الله

*Obv. margin:* ..... بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّى على يدى عبد الحميد بن

*Rev. margin:* مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله امير المؤمنين سنة تسع وثلاثين ومئة

Berlin, nos. 2088, 2088a; ANS; GCM; Rayy 1934, RGQ 2041 (date and mint effaced).

The name of the father of 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd (or Ḥumayd) is effaced on the Berlin and Rayy excavations specimens; on the ANS specimen, I can see only حر (?). The digit of the date and the father's name are effaced on the GCM specimen.

'Abdullāh 'Abdullāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn, whose name appears on the reverse is of course the Caliph al-Manṣūr. Can the prefect 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd be 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far b. 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī (died 153) mentioned in ibn-al-Athīr V, 467, ll. 16–17? Cf. no. 43, year 141, below.

The governors of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān in 139 were, respectively: 'Īsa b. Mūsa, Sufyān b. Mu'āwiyah, and Khālīd b. Ibrāhīm. (Tab. III, 127, ll. 17–19.)

43A. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 141.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
س	.

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّى سنة احدى واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله امير المؤمنين على يدى عبد الحميد بن جعفر

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 43, pp. 63–64.

## 43B. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 141.

As no. 43 A, but without • beneath the reverse, and on none of the specimens which I have examined is the word جعفر clear.

GCM; Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn; Rayy, 1934, RCh 1973 (date and mint effaced), RF 2890 (date effaced); Rayy 1935, RH 4168; Rayy, 1936, RG 8214 (date and mint effaced).

Zambaur reads جعفر (Ja'far), but his coin is not illustrated. He adopts the identification of 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far b. 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī as the prefect (cf. no. 42 above). His description of the coin is somewhat ambiguous as he refers the obverse to the year 138, which is of an entirely different style. He must mean 139.

In this year al-Mahdi was sent by his father the Caliph al-Manṣūr to Khurāsān at the head of an army, with orders to make his headquarters in Rayy. وفي هذه السنة وجه ابو جعفر المنصور ولده محمدا وهو يومئذ ولي عهد الى خراسان في الجنود وامره بزول الريّ ففعل ذلك محمد. He remained at Rayy till the year 151. (Tab. III, 133, l. 20-134, l. 2.). Al-Mahdi's representative in Khurāsān was al-Sirri b. 'Abdullāh. The governors of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah were as in the year 139 (cf. no. 42 above). (Tab. III, 138, ll. 8-10).

## 44A. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 143.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالريّ سنة ثلث واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* مما امر به اصغر بن عبد الرحمن عامل الامير محمد بن امير المؤمنين اكرمه الله

Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 402, pg. 117; GCM.

Zambaur read [اصع]د, but his specimen must be poorly preserved, as mine clearly has اصغر.

## 44B. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 143.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	...

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّیّ سنة ثلث واربعین ومئة

*Rev. Margin:* مما امر به عمران [or غفران؟] بن صلح عامل الامیر محمد بن امیر المؤمنین اکرمه الله

Berlin, nos. 2089, 2090.

The Amīr Muḥammad whose name appears on both coins is of course al-Mahdi, the heir apparent. As for the two prefects (Zambaur transliterates "Talḥ", but this is impossible; it must be صلح or صَلَح for صالح; and Aṣghar b. 'Abd-al-Raḥman is certain on my coin). I have searched through Ṭabari, Balādhuri, the Anonymous Chronicle (Balādhuri), Ya'qūbi, Yāqūt, ibn-al-Athīr and others for some clue as to their identity but without success. It would seem that their names are preserved to us only on these coins. Aṣghar must have been the first of the two prefects at Rayy in 143, as 'Imrān's (or Ghafrān's??) name appears again as prefect in the year 144 (cf. no. 45 below).

The governors of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah remained as in 139; al-Mahdi was of course still at Rayy and nominally over the East. (Ṭab. III, 141, ll. 11-12; 142, l. 15.)

#### 45. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 144.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
•	الله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	✠

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّیّ سنة اربع واربعین ومئة

*Rev. margin:* مما امر به عمران [or غفران؟] بن صلح عامل الامیر محمد بن امیر المؤمنین اکرمه الله

Berlin, no. 2091; Berlin (14x), no. 2095; Berlin, 191/1893; Paris, no. 1589; ANS, ANS (14x); GCM (two specimens); Rayy 1934, RC 2625; Rayy 1936, RG 8405.

(Lavoix (Paris) read ابقاء instead of اکرمه الله, but as اکرمه الله is clear on all the other specimens, it is likely that ابقاء is a misreading.)

The governors of the eastern provinces remained unchanged (Ṭab. III, 189, ll. 9-10). For عمران بن صلح, cf. no. 44 A above.

## 46. Æ. Al-Rayy (?). Year 14X (143 or 144).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله [؟]
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	••

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بالرّی [؟] سنة .... واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* ..... امر به عمرًا... [غفرًا...؟] بن صلا... محمد.... المؤمنين  
أكرمه الله

Rayy 1934, RD 2451.

Cf. nos. 44 and 45 above. This coin is undoubtedly a specimen of another die of one of these two years, 143 or 144.

(Leggett's al-Muhammadiyah *dirham* of 144 is surely to be rejected.)

## 47A. R. Al-Rayy. Year 145.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرّی سنة خمس واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, no. 27 (Ties., no. 743).

## 47B. R. Al-Rayy. Year 145.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر به ا
الله وحده	لمهدى محمد
لا شريك له	بن امير المؤمنين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرّی سنة خمس واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 45, o, pg. 43.



## 47c. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 145.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	•
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	•

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّئ سنة خمس واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* مما امر به المهدي محمد بن امير المؤمنين اكرمه الله

Cairo, no. 854.

## 47d. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 145.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	••

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّئ سنة خمسة [sic] واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* مما امر به سلم بن ... سه عامل الامير محمد بن امير المؤمنين اكرمه الله

Berlin, no. 2092 (reverse illustr., Pl. VII, but illegible).

(The Berlin catalogue has [?]لمه... for the name of the prefect. I had occasion to examine the coin at first hand in Berlin, and read سه ... with space for one or two letters before it; I therefore believe one can read قتيبة, see below.)

It is interesting to note the existence of two different silver and two copper issues at Rayy in this year 145. A should precede B in the silver issues as the latter bears the name of al-Mahdi in the form so common in the issues of the next few years. Of the copper issues, C has al-Mahdi only, D his name together with that of his prefect at Rayy. Although in written history Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhili is nowhere specifically mentioned as prefect at Rayy, it should be clear from his history summarized below, that he is the individual whose name appears as al-Mahdi's *āmīl* on the coin under discussion.

*Year 120:* Yūsuf b. 'Umar (cf. no. 31 above) wrote to Hishām suggesting Salm as governor of Khurāsān, but the Caliph objected that none of Salm's people were in Khurāsān; if there had been, he said, Salm's father Qutaybah would not have been killed. (Ṭab. II, 1659, ll. 1-6.)

*Year 123:* Salm was again mentioned by Yūsuf b. 'Umar to the Caliph as a possibility for Khurāsān; Naṣr b. Sayyār's old age and increasing weakness were cited as grounds for his removal. (Tab. II, 1721, ll. 13-14).

*Year 132:* Salm was *āmīl* for Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah in al-Baṣrah. (Tab. III, 21-23).

*Year 145:* Salm was at Rayy. (Tab. III, 206, ll. 16-17; cf. ibn-al-Athīr, V, 432, l. 21.)

*Year 145:* Al-Manṣūr recalls 'Īsa b. Mūsa and Salm b. Qutaybah on the death of the rebel Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh, and Salm leaves Rayy and joins Ja'far b. Sulaymān (Tab. III, 305, ll. 8-9).

*Year 146:* Salm b. Qutaybah is removed from al-Baṣrah by al-Manṣūr. (Tab. III, 326, ll. 19-20; 327, ll. 1-12.)

It is stated that Salm b. Qutaybah was governor of al-Baṣrah in 145 (Tab. III, 319, ll. 1-3); hence, in this one year, he was appointed to the governorship of Rayy, had copper coins struck bearing his name there, was removed, and reappointed to al-Baṣrah. I can find no evidence of his having struck *fulūs* at al-Baṣrah in the years 145 or 146.

48A. R. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر به ا
الله وحده	لمهدى محمد
لا شريك له	بن امير المؤمنين
<i>Obv. margin:</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة ست واربعين ومئة	
<i>Rev. margin:</i> Qur'ān, IX, 33.	

B.M. i, no. 46; Berlin, nos. 669, 670; 12 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 289; Istanbul, nos. 342, 343 (two dies), and one unnumbered; Paris, nos. 632, 633 (two dies); Ties., no. 755 (with three references).

48B. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
ⲁ	مما امر به ا
لا اله الا	لمهدى محمد
الله وحده	بن امير المؤمنين
لا شريك له	ⲙⲓⲣⲓ

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله محمد رسول الله ضرب هذا الفلوس بالرى سنة ست واربعين ومئة  
Paris, no. 1590.

48c. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

As no. 48 B above, but above the obverse, ⲁ; beneath the reverse ⲙⲓⲣⲓ.

Paris, no. 1591.

## 48d. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

As no. 48 B above, but beneath the reverse  $\ddagger$  (and no ornament above the obverse?).

B.M.i, cop. no. 91; Cairo, no. 289.

## 48e. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

As no. 48 B above, but above the obverse  $\P$ ; beneath the reverse  $\ddagger$ .

GCM (pellet above  $\text{الله}$  of the obverse); Rayy 1935, RH 4415, 6568, RCi 6763.

## 48f. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

As no. 48 B above, but with  $\ddagger$  beneath the reverse only.

Berlin, no. 2094 (digit of 146 effaced).

## 48g. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 146.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	••

*Rev. margin:* مما امر .... دى محمد ..... المؤمنين اكرمه الله

Berlin, no. 2093; Rayy 1934, RB 1008 (mint questioned, date effaced).

To these specimens are to be added Ties., nos. 755, 756, 757, descriptions inadequate for purposes of classification. Complete preservation and more accurate description would no doubt reduce the number of variants necessarily described separately under nos. 48 B through F; it is not likely that there were so many distinct dies.

It was stated by Prince Alexandre Gagarine that he possessed two *dirhams* "dont la lecture est incontestable, frappés à el-Muhammodia, en 146 et en 147" (Lettre..... à M. F. Soret sur quelques monnaies orientales inédites....., Rev. Num. Belge, 1862, pg. 460). Numismatic and historical evidence argue overwhelmingly against this contention. The name al-Muhammadiyah does not appear till the year 148, see below.

In this year, 146, Salm b. Qutaybah (cf. no. 47 above) was removed from the government of al-Baṣrah and was replaced by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī (Tab. III, 326, ll. 19-20; 327, ll. 1-12).

## 49a. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 147.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر به ا
الله وحده	لمهدى محمد
لا شريك له	بن امير المؤمنين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة سبع واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. i, no. 47; Berlin, no. 671; 24 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 290, 291; Fonrobert, no. 6230; Istanbul, nos. 344, 345, 346 (two dies), and one unnumbered; Paris, nos. 634, 635 (two dies); Ties., no. 764 (with nine references); ANS; GCM.

49B. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 147.

Undescribed.

Ties., no. 769 (undescribed; with single reference to Saveliev, inaccessible to me).

In 147 the governor of al-Kūfah was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān; of al-Baṣrah, 'Uqbah b. Salm. (Tab. III, 353, ll. 3-4.)

50A. Ṛ. Al-Rayy. Year 148.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

مما امر به ا

لمهدى محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة ثمان واربعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 48 (illustr. Pl. III); Berlin, no. 672; 6 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 292; Ties., no. 774 (with three references); ANS; GCM.

50B. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 148.

As no. 50 A, but with mint *al-Muḥammadiyah* instead of *al-Rayy*.

B.M. i, no. 49 (illustr., Pl. III); Berlin, nos. 690, 691; 27 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 302-304; Fonrobert, no. 6231; Istanbul, nos. 367, 368 (two dies); Paris, no. 648; Ties., no. 773 (with ten references); ANS (two specimens); GCM.

50C. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 148.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

مما امر به ا

لمهدى محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله محمد رسول الله ضرب هذا الفلوس بالرى سنة ثمان واربعين ومئة

Paris, no. 1592; ANS (two specimens, two dies); Rayy, 1936, RN 6959 (obscure), RCh 7263.

50D. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 148.

As no. 50 C, but with a pellet before لا, first line of the obverse, and و omitted before مئة.

Rayy, 1934, RE 2666.

## 50E. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 148.

As no. 50 C, but with the | of المهدى on the 2nd rather than on the 1st line of the obverse area. It is curious that this improvement was made on one die in the year 148, and yet both the copper and the silver issues of 149 return to the clumsy arrangement with the | on the first line.

Rayy, 1936, RGQ 8605.

(Too obscure to be identified positively, but certainly of the year 146 or 148 are the following *fulūs* from the Rayy Excavations: 1934, RB 1001, RCh 1972, 1935, RH 6490.)

The governors in the year 148 were as in 147 (Tab. III, 353, ll. 13-14).

Note that in this year al-Muḥammadiyah, the new mint name for Rayy, occurs for the first time. Since there are issues of the same year with the old name al-Rayy, it is obvious that al-Mahdi, whom the city-title honoured by the use of his name Muḥammad, introduced the innovation in the course of the year. In the strict sense al-Muḥammadiyah applied only to the inner city situated at the base of the citadel hill, Ṭabarak, called also the castle of al-Zaynabi or al-Zabandi, or al-Farrukhān. The new name is reported by Balādhuri and others under the year 158 when al-Mahdi's mosque and his other reconstructions and building operations were completed (Balādhuri, 319-320; al-Hamadhāni, 269, ll. 4-9).

## 51A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 149.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	هـ
الله وحده	تماما مر به ا
لا شريك له	لمهدى محمد
	بن امير المؤمنين
	ع

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة تسع واربعين ومئة.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 50; Berlin, nos. 694, 695; 42 of the several types in Assur Collection, Berlin (cf. nos. 51 B and 51 C below); Cairo, nos. 306-310; Istanbul, nos. 373, 374 (two dies); Paris, nos. 649, 650 (two dies); Ties., no. 784 (with two references, including Tornberg which however should be classified under no. 51 B below); ANS (two specimens, two dies); GCM.

## 51B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 149.

As no. 51 A but with هـ above and ع beneath the reverse area.

Istanbul, no. 372; Tornberg, no. 37, pg. 18.

(This die is perhaps to be rejected, there being a reasonable presumption that هـ was read for ع.)



## 51c. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 149.

As no. 51 A but with م above and ح beneath the reverse area.  
ANS.

## 51d. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 149.

As no. 51 A but without marks above or beneath the reverse area.

Berlin, nos. 692, 693 (two dies); Cairo, no. 305; Istanbul, nos. 369-371 (two dies); ANS.

To nos. 51 A, B, C, D are to be added specimens in Fonrobert, Nesselman and Stickel where descriptions are inadequate, and two unnumbered in Istanbul (where I failed to note the letters).

## 51e. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 149.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر به ا
الله وحده	لمهدى محمد
لا شريك له	بن امير المؤمنين

*Rev. margin:* رسول الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّى سنة تسع واربعين ومئة . . . .

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 1106, pg. 44 (simply listed, not described); Rayy 1936, RG 7752.

With the silver issues of al-Muhammadiyah of the year 149, isolated letters begin to occur frequently on the areas. (An isolated س has already been noted on a copper issue of 141, see no. 43 above). The use of these letters is not restricted to the al-Muhammadiyah mint, but they are perhaps more common there than at other mints. (Cf. the issues of Afriqiyah, Bukhāra, Balkh, al-Baṣrah, al-Rāfiqah, Sarra-man-ra'ā, Madīnat-al-Salām, Miṣr, al-Yamāmah, and others.) A great deal of ingenuity has been exercised, and a good deal of time wasted perhaps, by savants who have attempted to explain the meanings of the isolated letters. See, for example, the articles of E. Meier (referred to in the bibliography), C. G. Tornberg, Über die sogenannten 'Wertbezeichnungen' auf muhammedanischen Münzen (ZDMG, 1865, pp. 626-632), where one can recognize the beginnings of a feud; and Stickel and von Tiesenhausen, Die Werthbezeichnungen auf muhammedanischen Münzen (ZDMG, 1879, pp. 341-386). I do not propose to discuss the matter in general, and shall only point out a plausible hypothesis from time to time as the letters occur. Any explanation is a guess. In the present instance the letters would seem to be minter's or engraver's marks, whether or not they stand for words (e.g. م = م = مبارك, a common word later, cf. below nos. 70 C, etc.; ع = عدل = ح). ح is very common and I accept the frequently advanced theory that the word is a mark of genuineness, i. e. "good".

The occasional reappearance of the name al-Rayy in the 'Abbāsīd period can hardly be inadvertent. In this case, however, we have no information of any political situation that

might explain the use of the officially discarded name. Possibly a die engraver found the old name more convenient to write, or used an old die that had never had the date engraved on it; but it is curious that the die passed the inspector or the controller of the mint (if, indeed, it did so), in view of the fact that al-Mahdi, after whom the official Rayy was named, was still in the neighbourhood and might well have objected to the neglect of the honour due him on a public and official document. We may of course have to do with contemporary forgery.

The governors in the year 149 were as in 148 (Tab. III, 354, ll. 6-7).

52A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 150.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	م
الله وحده	مما امر به ا
لا شريك له	المهدي محمد
	بن امير المؤمنين
	ع

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 375; Tornberg, no. 39.

52B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 150.

As no. 52 A but above the obverse area ✱.

Tornberg, no. 40.

52C. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 150.

As no. 52 A but above the reverse area و and nothing below.

Tychsen, *Introductio*, pp. 65-66.

There are two specimens in the Assur Collection, Berlin, with the | of المهدي on the 1st line of the obverse, but I failed to note the isolated letters if any.

52D. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 150.

As no. 52 A but the | of المهدي is on the 2nd line; above the reverse area م; beneath ع.

B.M.i, no. 51; Berlin, nos. 696-700; 23 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 311-314; Istanbul, no. 376; Paris, nos. 651, 652 (two dies); Ties., no. 790 (with seven references, including Tornberg, no. 39, - cf. no. 52 A above, - which apparently should not be here); ANS (three specimens, two dies); Rayy, 1934, RB 2624.

52E. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 150.

Obverse area as no. 52 A.

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

بسم

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمسين ومئة*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33 ?

Tornberg, no. 41.

(I am inclined to believe that Tornberg misread this coin, possibly a Madinat al-Salām issue.)

52F. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 150.*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

مما امر به ا

لمهدي محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

الله

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله محمد رسول الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بالمحمدية سنة خمسين ومئة

Berlin, nos. 2103, 2104; GCM (two specimens); Rayy, 1934, RD 2190, RB 2621 (date effaced), RD 2862, 2863, RF 2880, 3253; 1936, CT 9 (and probably the following obscure specimens, Rayy 1934, RCh 106, RF 3255).

52G. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 150.

As no. 52 F but with the ا of المهدي on the 2nd line of the obverse.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 52, pg. 352 (Ties., no. 795); Rayy 1934, RB 1007 (date effaced).

(For a curious coin misdated 150, see no. 107 below.)

The governors in al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān remained unchanged. (Tab. II, 359, ll. 8-9.)

53. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 151.*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

م

مما امر به

المهدي محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

ع

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة احدى وخمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 52; Berlin, nos. 701, 702; 19 in the Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 315; Istanbul, nos. 377, 378 (two dies); Ties., no. 800 (with four references, 7 coins); Paris, no. 653; ANS (the  $\epsilon$  beneath the reverse is elongated).

The governor in al-Kūfah was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (see above); in al-Baṣrah, Jābir b. Tawbah al-Kilābi; al-Mahdi was still in the East. (Tab. III, 368, l.20-369, l.1.)

54A. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 152.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

ء

مما امر به

المهدي محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ائتين وخمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 53; Berlin, nos. 703, 704; 19 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 316-318; Istanbul, nos. 379, 380; Paris, no. 655; Ties., no. 807 (with six references); ANS (two specimens); GCM.

54B. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 152.

As no. 54 A but reverse with O beneath the area and nothing above.

Paris, no. 654.

In 152, al-Manṣūr appointed Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to Khurāsān as al-Mahdi's *āmīl* (cf. no. 59 below); Jābir b. Tawbah was removed from al-Baṣrah and replaced by Yazīd b. Manṣūr. (Tab. III, 369, ll.8-9, 12-13.)

55. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 153.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

ء

مما امر به

المهدي محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

ء

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ثلث وخمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 54; Berlin, nos. 705, 706; 15 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 319, 320; Istanbul, nos. 381-383 (three dies); Paris, no. 656; Ties., no. 817 (with seven references); ANS.

No change in the governors (Ṭab. III, 371, ll.19-20). Al-Mahdi led the pilgrimage this year. (Ṭab. III, 371, l.17.)

56A. *Ṭ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 154.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	هـ
الله وحده	مما امر به
لا شريك له	المهدي محمد
	بن امير المؤمنين
	ء

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اربع وخمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 384, and one unnumbered; Paris, no. 657; three in Assur Collection, Berlin; ANS.

56B. *Ṭ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 154.

As no. 56 A but beneath the reverse هـ, and nothing above.

B.M.i, no. 55; Berlin, no. 709 (date questioned); 7 in Assur Collection, Berlin (this type or else nos. 56 C or 56 D below); Istanbul, no. 385; Tornberg, no. 52 (probably this type); ANS.

56C. *Ṭ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 154.

As no. 56 A above, but beneath the reverse ٠ and nothing above.

Stickel, Handbuch I, XLVIII; Berlin, no. 708; ANS.

56D. *Ṭ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 154.

As no. 56 A, but above the reverse •, beneath ٠.

Berlin, no. 707.

56E. *Ṭ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 154.

As no. 56 A but with nothing above or beneath the reverse.

Ties., no. 829 (with one reference).

(Tiesenhausen, no. 832, cites four other specimens of the year 154, unspecific.)

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān continued in al-Kūfah; in al-Baṣrah the governor was 'Abd-al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Zabyān. (Ṭab. III, 373, ll.1, 5-6.)



## 57A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 155.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر به
الله وحده	المهدي محمد
لا شريك له	بن امير المؤمنين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس وخمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 56; Berlin, no. 710 (described as • beneath reverse, but probably it belongs here); 32 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, nos. 386, 387; Paris, no. 658; Ties., no. 843 (with five references); ANS; GCM.

## 57B. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 155.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر به
الله وحده	المهدي محمد
لا شريك له	بن امير المؤمنين

Foliate border.

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس بالمحمدية سنة خمس وخمسين ومئة

Berlin, nos. 2105, 2106; Paris, no. 1611; ANS (two specimens); GCM, six specimens; Rayy 1934, RE 2872, and (in various degrees of effacement) RE 2865, 2870, 2873, 2889; Rayy 1936, RG 8519 (date and mint effaced).

In this year, 'Abd-al-Malik b. Ayyūb was removed from al-Baṣrah and replaced by al-Haytham b. Mu'āwiyah al-'Ataki (with whom was associated Sa'id b. Da'īaj, or Ṣalīḥ (Tab. III, 373, ll. 20-21); Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, also, was removed from al-Kūfah, his position being taken by 'Umar b. Zuhayr (some say in 153). (Tab. III, 375, l. 9-377, l. 5.)

(In Istanbul, there is an unnumbered *dirham* assigned to the year 157, but on examining it I found both the *خمس* and the *سبع* to be extremely doubtful, and the lack of any other example of this year argues against the reading.)

## 58. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 158.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله

*Obv. margin:* ..... هذا الفلوس ... حمّدية في [sic] سنة ثمان وخمسين [sic] وم.....

*Rev. margin:* تمامر به ... محمد بن امير المؤمنين على يدي عافله ممس سبان [?]

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 54, pp. 353-354 (illustr., obverse only, Pl. XIV, fig. 8) (Ties., no. 879).

In the illustration (a drawing), there is no و between ثمان and خمسين, although the و is present in Bartholomae's transcription. The author points out that there is a word at the end of the obverse margin, ما, for which he suggests the reading ثمان, "complet, parfait". The reverse margin is unfortunately not illustrated, and the name of the prefect as transcribed, is, I am afraid, impossible to recover.

In this year al-Mahdi went from al-Raqqah to Baghdād in Ramaḍān (Tab. III, 385, ll.9-10). The governors of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān remained the same (Tab. III, 458, l.11-459, l.4).

59. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 159.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	هـ
الله وحده	مما امر به
لا شريك له	المهدي محمد
	بن امير المؤمنين
	ء

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة تسع وخمسين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33 ?

(ء = عدل, justus, —Tornberg.)

Tornberg, no. 66, pg. 23.

Tornberg's reading of the date at least is probably to be rejected; a sole specimen, with the anachronistic "al-Mahdi, son of the Commander of the Faithful", after the son had already become the Commander of the Faithful in 158, is not at all convincing. It is, therefore, in my opinion, probable that we have no example of a 159 issue from al-Muḥammadiyah.

In this year Ḥumayd b. Qaṭṭabah, who had been al-Mahdi's *amīl* over Khurāsān, died; al-Mahdi appointed abu-'Aun 'Abd-al-Malik b. Yazīd in his place. Sa'īd b. Da'laj was removed from al-Baṣrah and 'Abd-al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Zabyān replaced him. (Tab. III, 466, ll.3-5; 469, l.17.)

60A. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 160.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدي

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ سِتِّينَ وَمِئَةَ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 116; Berlin, no. 840; Cairo, no. 369; Ties., no. 896 (with four references); ANS.

60B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 160.

Obverse as no. 60 A.

Reverse as no. 60 A, but with  $\mathfrak{h}$  above the area, and  $\mathfrak{w}$  below.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 55, pg. 354; Paris, no. 718; Ties., nos. 897 and 899 (with six references, all to be classified here, I believe; there are errors in the Tiesenhansen classification).

60c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 160.

Obverse as no. 60 A.

Reverse as no. 60 A, but with the last line of the area  $\mathfrak{w}$  and beneath:  $\mathfrak{h}$ .

Berlin, no. 841; Tornberg, Suppl., no. 75a, pg. 304; ANS.

To the above (nos. 60 A, B, C) are to be added two specimens in Istanbul, unnumbered; and eight specimens in the Assur Collection, Berlin, my notes on which do not give details as to isolated letters, etc.

60D. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 160.

Obverse as no. 60 A.

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

خ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, no. 76, pg. 25.

60E. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 160.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

مما امر به

المهدي محمد

امير المؤمنين

له

Two beaded borders, between which: ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

*Rev. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الْفَلَسَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ سِتِّينَ وَمِئَةَ

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 50, pg. 67.

(Zambaur reports that the word beneath the reverse area is "fort indistinct"; perhaps it is جاز ("ayant cours"), "car se place ordinairement en haut du champ". ??)

60r. Æ. Al-Rayy. Year 160.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدي

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله صرب هذا الفلس بالرى على يدى الامير حمزة بن يحيى [= ملك؟] سنة ستين ومئة

Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, no. 49, pg. 67 (date actually illegible); ANS (mint obscure, date effaced); GCM (date clear, mint clear enough); GCM (mint clear, date not preserved); Rayy 1934, RCh 21 (mint effaced), RB 938 (date and mint effaced); Rayy 1936, RG 8549 (date clear, mint effaced), CT 31 (date and mint effaced.).

Zambaur read حمزة بن يحيى and argued that there was insufficient space on his specimen (where the date is effaced) for anything but ستين (60), and bore out his argument by citing حمزة بن يحيى, governor of Sijistān in 159. On the ANS specimen, حمزة is clear, but I cannot read يحيى in ... ملا (one or two letters at end indistinct). حمزة is clear (but not يحيى) on the first GCM specimen, and the date (but not the mint) is preserved; on the second GCM specimen the mint is legible, but the date is effaced, or else, if the patronymic is long following حمزة, there is no date at all. On the Rayy Excavations specimens, the legends are fragmentarily preserved and the critical last word of the margin is effaced.

Ḥamzah b. Yaḥya = Ḥamzah b. Mālik. This is evident if one makes cross references in Ṭabari and ibn-al-Athīr. Ḥamzah b. Yaḥya is not mentioned in Ṭabari, and occurs only once in ibn-al-Athīr (VI, 27); but Ḥamzah b. Mālik (b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'i) is mentioned several times in both Ṭabari and ibn-al-Athīr, and the identity is established by the appointment of Ḥamzah b. Mālik as governor of Sijistān in 159 (Ṭab. III, 459, l.18), or Ḥamzah b. Yaḥya as governor of Sijistān in 159 (ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 27, l.12). In the year 161 (the year following the coin in question), Ḥamzah's brother, Naṣr, who was the general at the head of the royal body-guard (شرطة), died, and was replaced by Ḥamzah (Ṭab. III, 491, ll.20-21; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 38, ll.6-7; Ya'qūbi, II, 483, ll.17-18, without date). Ḥamzah's subsequent history: he went to al-Jazīrah in 169 (ibn-al-Athīr, VI, ll.20-21); was appointed (year 176) to the governorship of Khurāsān by Hārūn al-Rashīd (Ṭab. III, 626, ll.10-11); removed from that office in the following year (Ṭab. III, 629, ll.6-8; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 96, ll.21-22; cf. no. 77 below); died in the year 181 (Ṭab. III, 646, l.14).

It is more than likely that Zambaur's identification is correct (*loc. cit.*). He read Ḥamzah b. Yaḥya, but his coin is unfortunately not illustrated. Of the specimens which I have been able to see at first hand, there is only one (the ANS specimen) where I can even attempt to read the father's name, and in this case I have not been able to read Yaḥya, but Mālik<sup>1</sup> is just possible. The single occurrence of the name Ḥamzah b. Yaḥya (in *ibn-al-Athīr*) as against the relatively frequent mention of the same individual as Ḥamzah b. Mālik, makes me incline to the opinion that the inscription on the coin in question is Ḥamzah b. Mālik; but this cannot be stated positively unless another and better preserved specimen should be found and a reexamination of Zambaur's coin should testify to the correctness of this reading. It is, in any case, not surprising that we should find no mention in the chronicles of Ḥamzah's appointment to Rayy, in view of the fact that he must have held office for a short time only, having been in Sijistān in 159 and then appointed as chief of the body-guard in 161.

I cannot explain the reoccurrence of the mint name al-Rayy here (cf. no. 51 E above).

The governors of al-Baṣrah and its dependencies (Kūrat Dijlah, al-Baḥrayn, 'Umān, al-Ahwāz and Fārs) in 160 was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān; of Khurāsān, Mu'ādh b. Muslim (Ṭab. III, 484, ll. 7-10). Note that Rayy and the northern provinces generally of Irān are not included as among the dependencies of al-Baṣrah.

61A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 161.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدي

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة احدى وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 117; Berlin, no. 842; 21 in Assur Collection, Berlin (not noted whether all are like this, or whether some are like no. 61 B below); Bodleian, no. 69; Cairo, no. 370; Istanbul, nos. 442, 443 (two dies); Paris, no. 719; Ties., no. 908 (with fourteen references); ANS; GCM, two specimens.

61B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 161.

As no. 61 A, but with a pellet beneath the reverse area.

Berlin, no. 843.

In this year Iṣḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ and Yazīd b. Manṣūr were associated in the government of al-Kūfah. The government of al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān remained unchanged. (Ṭab. III, 492, ll. 9-10.)

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps spelled Malik instead of Mālik.



62. *AR*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 162.

The coin is not described, but bears the word Ṭalḥah on the obverse, and al-Ṭāhir b. on the reverse.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, IV, N.C., 1886, pg. 228.

I have not been able to identify this governor or prefect al-Ṭāhir b. Ṭalḥah. The governors of al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah and Khurāsān were as in the year 161. (Ṭab. III, 494, l. 5).

63A. *AR*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 163.

As no. 62 above, except the date?? It is impossible to tell from the abbreviated description whether or not the coin bears the name al-Ṭāhir b. Ṭalḥah.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, IV, N.C., 1886, pg. 228.

63B. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 163.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مما امر [sic] المهدي
الله وحده	على يدي
لا شريك له	كثوم بن حفص
	له (indistinct)

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالمحمّدية سنة ثلث وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, no. 51, pg. 68.

63C. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 163.

As no. 63 B, but no لله beneath the reverse area.

Rayy 1936, RG 8517.

(Nos. 63 B and 63 C should perhaps be rated as a single issue, since Zambaur's لله is indistinct.)

For Kulthūm b. Ḥafṣ, whose name appears as *ʿāmil* on nos. 63 B and C, cf. no. 64 A, below, in the following year. This prefect remains unidentified; his name is apparently preserved to us only on these coins. I have searched in all the chronicles for his name without success.

In 163, Mu'adh b. Muslim was removed from Khurāsān, and al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr replaced him (Ṭab. III, 500, l. 15, 501, ll. 7-8). Al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah (with the dependencies as mentioned under the year 160, no. 60 above, with the addition of Furaḍ<sup>1</sup>) remained unchanged. (Ṭab. III, 501, ll. 5-7).

<sup>1</sup> Firād?

## 64A. Æ. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 164.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله

°

Border: ~~~~~

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالمحمّدية سنة اربع وستين ومئة*Rev. margin:* ولى عهد المسلمين الامير موسى بن امير المؤمنين على يدى كلثوم بن حفص  
الموصلى [؟]

Paris, no. 1612 (illustr. Pl. X); Ties., no. 960 (illustr. Pl. III, no. 12); Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn; GCM; Rayy, 1935, RCi 3546, RH 6357 (the latter very obscure).

In the Paris illustration, حفص is clear, but الموصلى although not questioned in the transcription, is obscure to me, except لى...; Tiesenhausen transcribes with dots (i. e. illegible) between كلثوم and يدى, but the illustration shows no omission; in the GCM specimen, the three last words are nearly effaced, but there is clearly a word like الموصلى after حفص. On RCi 3546, there is also clearly a word with ل, و and ل after حفص [حف].

## 64B. Æ. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 164.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالمحمّدية سنة اربع وستين ومئة*Rev. margin:* مما امر به ولى عهد المسلمين الامير موسى بن امير المؤمنين على يدى سلم  
بن عبد الله

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 52, pg. 68.

Kulthūm b. Ḥafṣ is unidentified (cf. the note under no. 63 above).

There is a strong presumption against Zambaur's reading سلم بن عبد الله Salm b. 'Abd-ullāh, in his unique coin, no. 64 B, for Ṭabari provides us with the name of the prefect at Rayy in this year: Khalaf b. 'Abdullāh (Ṭab. III, 503, ll. 12-13). The coin is not illustrated. Khalaf could, if the margin is poorly preserved, quite easily be misread Salm; or alternatively, if Zambaur's reading is correct, the name as preserved in Ṭabari is wrong. But the latter alternative is made virtually unacceptable and the reading Khalaf b. 'Abdullāh is almost assured by the occurrence of the name خلف on a fals of the next year (see nos.

65 B and C below). Zambaur (Contrib. I, no. 53-54, pg. 68) quotes ibn-al-Athīr to show that Khalaf was governor of "Media" in the year 165, but he fails to note that this man was already prefect in 164, probably because this fact is not recorded in ibn-al-Athīr, and I presume Zambaur did not consult Ṭabari. Khalaf must have followed Kulthūm (since Kulthūm appears on the *fulūs* of 163 and 164); and Ṭabari tells us that Khalaf was removed from the government of Rayy the following year, and was replaced by 'Īsa, *mawla* of Ja'far (Ṭab. III, 505, l.12).

(I know of only one Salm b. 'Abdullāh, mentioned in Balādhuri, 365, ll.17-18 and Yāqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 840, l. 19, as Salm b. 'Abdullāh b. abi-Bakrah, — written 'Ubaydullāh in the Balādhuri text, — a man after whom a stream in al-Baṣrah was named.)

The Mūsa mentioned in the marginal legends of both types is of course al-Mahdi's son, later (year 169) to become Caliph for one year. Henceforth it becomes a common practice to recognize the heir apparent in this fashion on the coins.

In this year Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was removed from al-Baṣrah and its dependencies and replaced by Šāliḥ b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī, with 'Aṣim b. Mūsa al-Khurāsāni as tax-collector (Ṭab. III, 501, l.16-502, l.2; 503, ll.6-8); al-Kūfah went to Hishām b. Sa'īd b. Manšūr (Ṭab. III, 503, ll.4-5); and Khurāsān remained as before (Ṭab. III, 503, ll.8-9).

65A. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 165.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدي
	ء

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. i, no. 118; Berlin, nos. 844-846; 15 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 371; Istanbul no. 44, and two unnumbered; Ties., no. 969 (with ten references).

65B. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 165.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	ء
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	موسى

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالحمّدية سنة خمس وستين ومئة خلف

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33, till المشر.

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 53, pg. 68.

65c. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 165.

As no. 65B, but reverse margin has Qur'ān, IX, 33, only as far as كره.

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 54, pg. 68.

Mūsa, beneath the reverse of nos. 65 B and C, is the heir apparent; for Khalaf, whose name occurs without that of his father, 'Abdullāh, in the most unusual position after the date in the marginal legend of the obverse, see the discussion above under no. 64.

The governors were in 165 as in 164, except that Rūḥ b. Ḥātim was added to al-Baṣrah; and over the Baṣrah dependencies, Dijlah, al-Baḥrayn, 'Umān, Kaskar and al-Ahwāz, was one of al-Mahdi's *mawlas*, al-Mu'alla (Tab. III, 505, ll.14-18).

66A. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 166.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدي

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة ست وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 119; Berlin, nos. 847, 848; 24 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 372, 373; Istanbul, no. 445, and two unnumbered; Ties., no. 988 (with eleven references); ANS (two specimens).

66B. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 166.

As no. 66 A above, but م beneath the reverse area.

Paris, no. 720.

66c. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 166.

As no. 66 A but beneath the reverse area: ح.

Ties., no. 987 (with two references).

66D. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 166.

As no. 66 A but beneath the reverse area: د.

Ties., no. 989 (with one reference).

The prefect in Rayy in 166 was Sa'd, a freedman of the Caliph's, but we have no coin to support this statement. See, however, the Sa'd discussed under 68 E below, year 168. (Tab. III, 518, l.15; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 50, l.4). The governors in al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah

were as before (Ṭab. III, 518, ll. 8-12). A rising in Khurāsān against al-Musayyab put al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī in his place. (Ṭab. III, 517, ll. 8-10, 518, ll. 8-12.)

67A. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 167.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدى
	نخ

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة سبع وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. i, no. 120; Berlin, nos. 849, 850; 16 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 374; Istanbul, no. 446, and two unnumbered; Paris, no. 721; Ties., no. 1013 (with seven references); ANS (two specimens).

67B. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 167.

As no. 67 A, but with ۞ beneath the reverse area instead of نخ.

Berlin, no. 851; Ties., no. 1014 (with ۞, probably the same as Berlin, - with two references).

67C. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 167.

As no. 67 A, but the reverse reads:

الخليفة المهدى  
مما امر به  
موسى ولى  
عهد المسلمين

Berlin, no. 852; one in Assur Collection, Berlin; Ties., no. 1015 (with two references).

The prefect in Rayy in 167 continued to be Sa'd, freedman of the Caliph (Ṭab. III, 521, l. 11). The governors in al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah and Khurāsān were as in the last year (Ṭab. III, 521, ll. 4-8).

68A. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 168.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة المهدى
	• نخ •



*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 121 (the *الخليفة* is lacking); Berlin, no. 853; Istanbul, nos. 447-449 (three dies), and two unnumbered; Paris, no. 722; Ties., no. 1040 (with 15 references); ANS; GCM, two specimens.

68B. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 168.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	•

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان وستين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Porter, N. C., 1921, pg. 318 (referred to by Zambaur in *Neue Khalifenmünzen*, N. Z., Wien, 1922, pg. 5).

68c. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 168.

As no. 68 B, but without • beneath the reverse area, and with pellets as follows on the reverse margin: above *س* of *ارسله*; above *و* of *ودين*; above *ظ* of *ليظهره*; above *ه* of *كله*; and with the latter part of the reverse margin written so: *على الدين كله لو كر لشركن*. The first part of the obverse margin so: *بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم لمحمدية سنة الخ*.  
ANS.

68D. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 168.

Obverse as no. 68 A above.

*Rev.* (Arrangement of lines not indicated)  
الخليفة المهدي ممامر به موسى ولي عهد المسلمين س

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Marsden, Vol. I, no. xxxii, pp. 32-34.

68E. *AR.* Al-Rayy. Year 168.

Size and type of the Ṭabaristān Sasanian style.

*Obv.* Usual head of Khosraw II.

*Rev.* Usual fire-altar and attendants.

At left, in Pahlevi: *𐭥𐭥𐭥 GDH AFZUT*

At left, in Kufic: *بالري سنة*

*𐭥𐭥𐭥 crescat majestas!*

At right, in Kufic: *ثمان وستين ومئة*

At right, in Kufic: *سعد = ٧٥*

*Obv. margin:* right lower quarter: *٧٥ = AFD*

left lower quarter: *١١٢١*

Istanbul, unpublished, no. 84/46; Berlin, unpublished, no. 127/1935, Gotha.

Mūsa, the heir apparent, whose name appears on no. 68 D, is al-Hādi.

For Sa'd, the *mawla* of al-Mahdi, (no. 68 E), cf. the notes under nos. 66 and 67 above. Although the chroniclers do not tell us that Sa'd continued as prefect of Rayy in the year 168, we have in this remarkable coin not only evidence of his continuation in office, but also reasonable confirmation of the accuracy of the reports for the years 166 and 167. The coin is unique in the numismatic history of Rayy, and for the moment can only be explained as testimony of some political endeavour the history of which has not been preserved. We know nothing of Sa'd other than the report that he held office at Rayy, but I believe we may safely assume that he was a freedman of Ṭabaristān, who was accustomed to and probably admired the fine coinage of the Sasanian type still in use in that province. But there can hardly be any doubt that there was a political significance as well. The Ispahbad and Arab governor coinage of Sasanian type continued to be struck in Ṭabaristān until the year 143 of the Ṭabaristān era = 178 A. H. = 794 A. D. The Ṭabaristān era began in 31 A.H./651 A.D. with the death of Yazdikirt. Relations between Ṭabaristān and Rayy were throughout history close, either in enmity or amity. No better insight into the traffic between the two provinces is afforded than in ibn-Isfandiyār's History of Ṭabaristān. See for example Hārūn al-Rashīd's placing his son, al-Ma'mūn, in the hands of Wandād Hurmuzd for tutelage (Ibn-Isfandiyār, pp. 43-45). In 167 and for three years 'Umar b. al-'Alā' of Rayy was governor of Ṭabaristān (Ṭab. III, 520, l.14; al-Hamadhāni, 311, l.4)<sup>1</sup>.

69A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 169.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	°

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ تِسْعٍ وَتِسْتِينَ وَمِئَةً

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Marsden, Vol. I, no. XXXIV, pg. 35; Tornberg, no. 124, pg. 34; Istanbul (two specimens).

<sup>1</sup> I find that another specimen of the remarkable coin under discussion was described by B. Dorn in *Forschungen in der Pehlewy-Münzkunde*, in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Tome IV, 1860-1863, pp. 22-24. Professor Dorn hoped for "eine besser erhaltene Münze", and I gather therefore that Bartolomäi's specimen was poorly preserved, which may explain his and Dorn's unwillingness to read بالرى on the coin. Also Dorn read *Omar* in Pahlevi in place of Sa'd in Kufic as I have read it. But I believe that the Berlin and Istanbul specimens leave no doubt whatsoever as to the validity of the reading بالرى, and although one might conceivably read 'Umar in Pahlevi on the obverse, I am fairly well convinced that Sa'd is the correct reading. It would be difficult to explain 'Umar (b. al-'Alā')'s striking coins in Rayy.

69b. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 169.

Obverse as no. 69 A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة المهدي  
خ.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1075 (with three references).

69c. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 169.

Obverse as no. 69 A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة موسى  
ح

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 75 (176), pg. 27; Ties., no. 2779.

69d. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 169.

As no. 69 C, but last line of the reverse area reads *الخليفة الهادي* and above: *به*; beneath: *صل*. (My notes may be inaccurate.)

One specimen in Assur Collection, Berlin.

69e. *AE.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 169.*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
م

*Rev.*

محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة موسى

*Rev. margin:* *بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بالمحمدية سنة تسع وستين ومئة*

B.M.i, cop. no. 124; Berlin, no. 2170; Ties., no. 1092 (with one reference); ANS (two specimens); GCM, three specimens; Rayy, 1934, RCh 113, Rayy, 1936, RGQ 8576 (all in poor condition, with date and/or mint effaced).

No. 69 A is probably al-Mahdi's (cf. no. 68 B above); no. 69 B is certainly al-Mahdi's; the rest are al-Hādi's (note that in two cases, nos. 69 C and 69 E, the new Caliph still uses his own personal name, Mūsa). Al-Mahdi died on the 22nd of Muḥarram, 169, and was succeeded by his son Mūsa al-Hādi. The governor of al-Kūfah (and Bihqubādh) was Mūsa b. ʿĪsa; of al-Baṣrah, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. A prefect in Iṣbahān is mentioned (Ṭayfūr, *mawla* of al-Hādi), but I find no reference to a prefect at Rayy. (Tab. III, 568, ll.12-17.)

70A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله صلى الله
لا شريك له	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة الهادي
	ر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة سبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

(.بر = بركة?; E. Meir, *zDMG*, 1864, pg. 762, says بر.)

Istanbul, no. 472, and one unnumbered; Paris, no. 742; Ties., no. 1096 (with seven references); ANS.

70B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

As no. 70 A, but beneath the reverse area: ه instead of ر.

Berlin, no. 923; four in Assur Collection, Berlin.

70c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

Obverse as no. 70 A.

*Rev.*  
مبا  
محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة الرشيد  
رك

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

مبارك above, and رك beneath = مبارك

B.M. i, no. 188; Berlin, nos. 1073, 1074; 7 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 465; Paris, no. 810; Ties., no. 1110 (with seven references); ANS.

70D.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

As no. 70 A, but the reverse reads:

مبا  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وسلم  
الخليفة الرشيد  
رك

Cairo, no. 464 (note typographical error, 107 instead of 170).

70E.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

Obverse as no. 70 A.

Rev.

دا  
محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة الرشيد  
ود

[?] دا above, and [?] ود beneath = [?] داود (see discussion below).

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 497.

70F.  $\mathcal{A}$ E. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

Obv.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
†

Rev.

✠  
مما امر به  
هرون امير المؤمنين  
اعز الله نصره  
نخ

Rev. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفليس بالمحمدية سنة سبعين ومئة

Berlin, no. 2185; Paris, no. 1613; Ties., no. 1120 (ornaments not described); GCM (four specimens, of which three are obscure); Rayy, 1934, RG 2899; Rayy, 1936, RG 7955, 8215, RGQ 8581 (all poorly preserved, the ornaments obscure).

70G.  $\mathcal{A}$ E. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170 (?).


As no. 70 F, but beneath the obverse area ✠; above the reverse area: ♀.

Berlin, no. 2186.

18467



70H. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 170.

As no. 70 F, but with † beneath the obverse area; and above the reverse area: .

ANS; GCM, two specimens (two dies), date and mint obscure; Rayy, 1936, RG 8554 (mint effaced).

Nos. 70 A and 70 B are records of al-Hādī's brief reign. The rest are all Hārūn al-Rashīd's. It is to be noted that he uses the title al-Rashīd on the *dirhams*, and his own name, Hārūn, on the *fulūs*; and also that in this the first year of his reign, he himself "orders" the striking of the coppers (nos. 70 F, G, and H).

The word داود, كاكوك, or كاكود appearing on no. 70 E, raises a problem. Ismā'īl Ghālib, author of the Istanbul catalogue, states (Istanbul, no. 500) that it is the name of Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, and that he was appointed to the province of Rayy, upon the succession of his uncle, Rūḥ b. Ḥātim to the governorship of Africa. اشبو سكه لرده اسمى بولنان داود بن يزید. ن حاتم عميسى روح بن حاتمك افريقيه واليسى اولمسي اوزرينه محمدیه [رى] ولايتنه مأمور اولمشدى. But he cites no authority to prove that this was the case. — We know that Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim became for a short time governor of Afriqīyah following his father's death in Ramaḍān, 170 (Ibn-al-Athīr, V, 461, ll. 8–10; VI, 75, ll. 3ff.); that he was relieved of this post in Rajab, 171, when his uncle Rūḥ arrived there, and that he (Dāwūd) then went to al-Rashīd, who made use of him in some other capacity (Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 78, ll. 15–19); that he was in Khurāsān in 175 (Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 84, ll. 17ff.), governor of al-Sind in 184 (Ṭab. III, 649, ll. 15–16; Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 113, ll. 17–18), and died in the year 205, then still governor of al-Sind (Ṭab. III, 1044, l. 9; Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 256, l. 22). Did Ismā'īl Ghālib merely presume, using the name Dāwūd on the coin as evidence, that this individual was appointed to Rayy in 170, or did he draw his information from some historical source? His movements in the years 170–171 noted above, argue against the possibility of his having been at Rayy in 170. According to Ḥamzah b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī, Dāwūd b. Yazīd was representative for Ghaṭrīf b. 'Atā, governor of Khurāsān, Jurjān and Sijistān in 175 (Ta'rikh Sini Mulūk al-Arḍ wa-al-Anbiyā', ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt, Petropoli-Lipsiae, 1844, p. 223, ll. 11–14; cf. Stickel, Handbuch I, pg. 97).

If this word is actually the name of an individual, and this individual is to be identified as Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, then we must correct either Ibn-al-Athīr on the arrival of Rūḥ in Africa and the relieving of Dāwūd in 171, or Ismā'īl Ghālib in his reading of the date 170 on the coin in question. But there is further data that makes the adoption of this identification, I think, out of the question. The word appears on *dirhams* of al-Muḥammadiyah of the years 171, 172, 173, 174, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187 and 195 (cf. below), and also on the following *dirhams*: Zaranj 176, Sijistān 176, Ma'dīn Bājūnais (near Khilāt in Armenia, cf. Yāqūt, I, 455, ll. 5–11) 190, 191, 192, 194, 195; and on *dinars* of the year 174. Bearing in mind that Dāwūd b. Yazīd was in Khurāsān in 175, and governor of al-Sind from 184 till 205, it is, to cite only two of many aspects of the conflicting geography and chronology, impossible for me to reconcile the historical information with the Muḥammadiyah issues of 186, 187, and 195, or the Armenian issues of 190–195.

Without elaborating the question, I think there are strong arguments against Dāwūd (or however the word is to be transliterated) being, in the case of Rayy at least, the name

of an individual who had anything directly to do with the government of the city or the province. It has occurred to me, however, that the word, if it is to be read Dāwūd, might just possibly be the Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim we have been discussing, not in a particular capacity, but as the most prominent member of the Muhallabid family in the eastern provinces, who was thus occasionally honoured by having his name introduced on the coinage, a privilege which would be somewhat analogous to that exercised by the Barmakid Ja'far (cf. the discussion under no. 76 below). But I suggest this only out of desperation; I consider it very unlikely. If the word is not a name, then it is one of the auxiliary words used to indicate genuineness, validity etc. But I can suggest no reading of the four ambiguous Kufic letters that produces a legitimate word. E. Meier, ZDMG, 1864, pp. 769-770, made out كَاوُد, "wie eine Beschwerung", from أَاد, "beschweren", أَوُد, "Beschwerung", i. e. "certified weight". The explanation is ingenious but unattractive. I am compelled to leave the question open for the time being. In the descriptions of the coins which follow bearing the word, I have, for the sake of brevity, always transcribed داود, even though this may not be the correct transcription.

Al-Hādi died the 16th of Rabī' I, 170, and Hārūn al-Rashīd then succeeded to the Caliphate. The governors in al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah were as in the preceding year (Ṭab. III, 605, ll. 14-17); the governor of Khurāsān was al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsi (Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 75, ll. 21-22).

71A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 171.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	مبا
الله وحده	محمد رسول
لا شريك له	الله صلى الله
	عليه وسلم
	الخليفة الرشيد
	رك

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة احدى وسبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 189; Berlin, nos. 1075, 1076; 7 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 466; Paris, no. 811; Ties., no. 1123 (with five references); Istanbul, two unnumbered; (see also no. 92 below).

71B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 171.

As no. 71 A, but above the reverse area دا and beneath ود = داود, in place of مبارك.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 80 (185), pg. 28; Istanbul, no. 498; Ties., no. 1124, and no. 1124 (pg. 303) (with two references); 4 in Assur Collection, Berlin; ANS.

71c. R. Al-Muḥammadīyah. Year 171.

Obverse as no. 71 A.

Rev.

حارب  
محمد رسول الله  
الخليفة الرشيد  
مما امر به محمد  
بن امير المؤمنين  
ص

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1077.

Nützel transcribes the word above the reverse area as حارث. I think it is more probably جارب, a strange and philologically unsound form for مجرب<sup>٢٢</sup>, "warranted" or "assayed". As for ص beneath the reverse, it may be a minter's mark; or does it stand for صرد = "pure, unmixed", or possibly صريح = "perfect, genuine, valid"?

For Dāwūd (no. 71 B), see the discussion under no. 70 above. Muḥammad, mentioned on the coin no. 71 C, is al-Amīn, later Caliph, and now, in 171, recognized in this fashion as heir apparent. Al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsi, mentioned already under no. 70 above, left Khurāsān for Baghdād (Tab. III, 605, 1.20-606, 1.1).

72a. R. Al-Muḥammadīyah. Year 172.

Obv.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Rev.

دا  
محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة الرشيد  
ود

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اثنتين وسبعين ومئة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. i, no. 190; Berlin, nos. 1078, 1079; 8 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Bodleian, no. 76; Cairo, no. 469; Istanbul, nos. 499, 500 (two dies); Paris, no. 812; Ties., no. 1150 (with eight references); ANS.

72B. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 172.*

Obverse as no. 72 A.

*Rev.*

حارب

محمد رسول

الله الخليفة الرشيد

مما امر به محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

ص

*Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.*

B.M. i, no. 191; Cairo, no. 467 (word above the reverse transcribed حارث); ANS.

72C. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 172.*

Obverse as no. 72 A.

Reverse as no. 72 B, but above: حارب and beneath: • الفضل •.

Cairo, no. 468.

72D. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 172.*

Obverse as no. 72 A.

Reverse as no. 72 C, but فضل in place of • الفضل •.

Ties., no. 1151 (حارب = حارب or حارت sic.); ANS.

72E. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 172.*

As no. 72 B, but above the reverse area يحيى, beneath به.

Porter, N. C., 1921, pg. 319 (discussed by Zambaur in N. Z., Wien, 1922, pg. 6); 6 in Assur Collection, Berlin.

For داود (no. 72 A), see the discussion under no. 70 above. For حارب and ص (nos. 72 B, C and D), see under no. 71. Faḍl and al-Faḍl (nos. 72 C and 72 D) is doubtless in the category of words like مبارك, بركة, etc. Yahya (transcribed الهلى "probably for الجلى" by Porter) is undoubtedly Yahya b. Khālid, the Barmakid, who was appointed vizier in the year 170 (Tab. III, 603, l. 19). (Cf. Stickel, Handbuch I, CIX, pg. 93.)

73A. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 173.**Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

يحيى

محمد رسول

الله صلى الله

عليه وسلم

الخليفة الرشيد

بهلول

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ ثَلَاثٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِئَةً

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 83A (XI), pg. 101; B.M.i, no. 193 (illustr. Pl. V); Cairo, no. 470; Ties., no. 1169 (with three references); 8 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, unnumbered.

73b. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 173.

As no. 73 A, but above the reverse area, *سلام*, in place of *يحيى*; beneath, *معيوة*, in place of *هلول*.

B.M.i, no. 192; Ties., no. 1172; two in Assur Collection, Berlin.

73c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 173.

As no. 73 A, but above the reverse area *دا*, beneath *ود* = *داود*.

Ties., no. 1170.

73d. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 173.

A partially preserved coin as no. 73 A above (apparently), but beneath the reverse area: *داود* (the top is not preserved).

Tornberg, Suppl., no. 143a (pg. 305).

For Yahya (no. 73 A) see the note under no. 72 above; *داود* (nos. 73 C and 73 D), see no. 70.

For Mu'āwiyah (no. 73 B), I can suggest with a fair amount of confidence that the person is Mu'āwiyah b. Zufar b. 'Āṣim, whose name is preserved to us solely through the fact that he led the summer raiding campaigns in the years 178 and 180 (Tab. III, 637, l. 11; 645, l.15). This identification is supported by my argument in reference to 'Uthmān b. Zufar under no. 79 below, q. v.

As for *هلول* (no. 73 A), usually transcribed *هلول*, which occurs so far as I know, on no other 'Abbāsid coin, Stickel suggested (Handbuch, I, pp.93-94) that we should read *هلول* <sup>يحيى</sup> i.e. Yahya is *Herr, der alles Guten voll*, or Yahya is *princeps omni bono praeditus*. Meier (ZDMG, 1864, no. 9, pp.772-773) wanted to read it as a mark of genuineness, "schön, vortrefflich" with <sup>يحيى</sup> (i.e. a *دِرْهَم* <sup>يحيى</sup> *dirham*!) instead of *يحيى*. I know of no individual by this name who might be the Bahlūl in question, and can put forward nothing more appropriate than Stickel's suggestion, which however is not very satisfactory.

*سلام* (no. 73 B) is surely a word used as a benedictory or pious accessory, like *بركة*, *مبارك*, etc.



In this year Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was recalled from Khurāsān and was succeeded by his son al-'Abbās (Tab. III, 609, ll.12-13).

74A. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 174.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لااله الا	سلام
الله حوده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به محمد
	بن امير المؤمنين
	صدر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة اربع وسبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 84 (189), pg. 29; B.M. i, no. 194; Ties., no. 1183 (with six references); one in Assur Collection, Berlin.

74B. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 174.

Obverse as no. 74 A.

<i>Rev.</i>
دا
محمد رسول
الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم
الخليفة الرشيد
ود

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

74C. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah (?). Year 174 (?).

This coin, the reading of both the date and the mint questioned, is almost certainly 184, q. v. (Tiesenhausen had already pointed out the likelihood of this, no. 1193, pg. 303).

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Additamentis, no. 148b, pg. 226 (Ties., no. 1193; Tiesenhausen's other reference, Fraehn, Bull. hist. phil. I, pg. 106, no. 5, has not been accessible to me).

سلام (no. 74A), see under no. 73. صدر, which, so far as I know, appears only on the coins of al-Muḥammadiyah, is probably to be interpreted as meaning "pure, unmixed", and not as a person's name. (Cf. Stickel, Handbuch, I, no. CX, pp. 94-97, where he suggests among other things that it may refer to the director of the mint.) For داود cf. no. 70 above.

75A. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 175.*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	سلام
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به محمد
	ولى عهد المسلمين
	صرد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس وسبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 814; one in Assur Collection, Berlin.

75B. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 175.*

Obverse as no. 75 A.

*Rev.*  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
وسلم الخليفة الرشيد  
يزيد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, nos. 1080–1082; seven in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 471 (with reference to B.M. i, no. 195, although transcribed Yazid, while B.M. i, no. 195 has براد, cf. no. 75 C below); Paris, no. 813; Ties., no. 1196 (with ten references, at least two dies); Istanbul, unnumbered; ANS (two specimens).

75c. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 175.*

Obverse as no. 75 A.

Reverse as no. 75 B, but in place of  
يزيد, beneath the reverse area براد؟

B.M. i, no. 195.

(I would presume that on this specimen the word below the reverse is obscure and that براد is thus merely a misreading for يزيد. Still, it may represent another die on which the engraver made an error with a new name. Lane-Poole refers the specimens to Ties., no. 1196, but those, no. 75 B, are presumably all correct يزيد.)

Al-Amīn is here (no. 75 A) given the title Wali 'Ahd, whereas heretofore, while the presence of his name on the coinage was sufficient evidence of his proclamation as heir apparent, he was termed only "son of the Commander of the Faithful". The probability is that the Yazid in question (no. 75 B and no. 75 C?) is Yazid b. Mazid al-Shaybāni, who was a general in Khurāsān, year 160 (Tab. III, 470, ll. 10ff.); with Hārūn al-Rashid in al-Rūm

in 165 (Tab. III, 503, ll.19ff.); with Mūsa in Jurjān in 167 (Tab. III, 519, l.5), and again with Mūsa in 170 (Tab. III, 572, l.1); removed from his post in Armenia in 172 (Tab. III, 607, ll.5-6). Between 172 and 179 I have not been able to find mention of his movements, but in the latter year he was called into service by al-Rashīd (Tab. III, 638, ll.6-7), and in 183 was recalled to Armenia and Adharbayjān (Tab. III, 648, ll.5-6, and 748, ll.17ff.). He died in 185 at Bardha'ah in Adharbayjān (Tab. III, 650, l.16). His name appears in full, Yazīd b. Mazīd, on several coins: e. g. al-Hārūniyah, years 169, 170; Armīniyah, year 183; Arrān, years 183, 184 (Ties., B.M., Berlin). Stickel (Handbuch, I, no. CXI, pg. 97), following Fraehn (Recensio, pg. 15\*, no.150), and Nesselman (nos. 112, 113) pointed out that this identification was a possibility.

In this year, 175, al-'Abbās b. Ja'far was removed from the governorship of Khurāsān (Tab. III, 612, ll.5-6).

76A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 176.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا الله الا	سلام
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به محمد
	بن امير المؤمنين
	صرد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ست وسبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Fraehn, Recensio, no. 156, pg. 16\*, obscure (Ties., no. 1210); Stickel, Handbuch, I, no. CXIII, pg. 98 (with date questioned, possibly 173, - but this is unlikely, cf. no. 73 above; the author states that the marginal legend is badly stamped).

76B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 176.

Obverse as no. 76 A.

<i>Rev.</i>
سلام
محمد رسول الله
مما امر به الامين
ولى عهد المسلمين
صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1211 (with four references, but the Fraehn Recensio specimen may well be no. 76C below).

76c. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 176.

Obverse as no. 76 A.

*Rev.*

سلام  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به محمد  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, unpublished, no. 404/1913 (with blundered سبعين); Fraehn, *Recensio*, no. 157, pg. 16\* (?).

76d. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 176.

Obverse as no. 76 A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله  
الخليفة الرشيد على  
يدى جعفر بن يحيى

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Two in Assur Collection, Berlin.

(My notes on these two specimens record that I considered the date and mint to be clear.)

76e. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 176 (?).*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*

الله  
مما امر به  
هرون امير المؤمنين  
اعز الله نصره  
خج

*Rev. margin:* "Très-corrompue". Mint apparently clear, and the editor thought he could make out "176".

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 59, pg. 356 (*Ties.*, no. 1222).

I am inclined to reject this coin, no. 76 E. Is it not more probably a poor specimen of the copper issue of the year 170, cf. nos. 70 F, G, and H, above?

With the exception of no. 76 D, the year 176 seems to have been a poor one at the mint of al-Muḥammadiyah. The few specimens extant are obscure or badly engraved or struck. As for no. 76 D, with the name of Ja'far b. Yahya, I hardly believe that the name of the

Barmakid, Hārūn's favourite, on the coins ever has any real administrative significance in connection with the particular mint by which the coin was issued. For example in this year 176, Ja'far was appointed by Hārūn to Egypt, and in 177 he was removed from there (Tab. III, 626, l.12; 629; ll.5-6), and yet his name appears here on a coin of Rayy in 176. In 181, his name is to be found in full (i. e. Ja'far b. Yahya, as here) on coins of Miṣr and Damascus and yet he was not actually administering these cities. (In 180 he was nominally chief of the guard at Baghdād, Tab. III, 645, ll.3-4). Earlier, and later, his name, without his father's, is used quite extensively for a reason which I am about to explain; for example, on *dīnārs* of the years 170, 175, 179, 182, 183, 184, and 185 (and perhaps others, — I have not investigated exhaustively), and on *dirhams* of al-Muḥammadiyah (see the succeeding issues) and of Madīnat al-Salām, 179, Zaranj, 180, and Miṣr, 182. And in the present instance, the governor of al-Jibāl, Ṭabaristān, Damāwand, Qūmis, Armīniyah and Adharbayjān was his brother al-Faḍl b. Yahya (Tab. III, 612, ll.16-17). Ja'far's appointments were seldom anything but honorary. I question if Zambaur is justified in listing him as vizier from the year 177 (Manuel, pg. 6), basing this assertion on the numismatic evidence. On that basis he could be called vizier in 176, or even in 170.

Of especial significance is the fact that we find in Maqrīzi an unusually satisfying statement bearing on the use of the vizier's name on the coinage. We learn that Hārūn al-Rashīd was the first to give up the personal superintendence of the coinage, and that he delegated the duty to Ja'far, thus adding greatly to the latter's prestige. Ja'far accordingly put his name on *dīnārs*, and on *dirhams* struck at Madīnat al-Salām and al-Muḥammadiyah.

فلما صير أمير المؤمنين هرون الرشيد السكك الى جعفر بن يحيى البرمكى كتب اسمه لمدينة السلام وبالمحمّدية من الرّى على الدنانير والدرهم . . . . وهرون الرشيد اول خليفة ترفع عن مباشرة العيار (Al-Maqrīzī, نفسه وكان الخلفا من قبله يتولون النظر في عيار الدرهم [sic] والدنانير بانفسهم. Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fi Dhikr al-Nuqūd, pg. 8, ll.8-10, ll.13-14 of L.A. Mayer's facsimile of Maqrīzi's revised autograph, Leyden ms. Or. 560 Warn., Alexandria, 1933. Tychsen's text is faulty: وبالمحمّدية من الذى على الدنانير والدرهم instead of الرّى etc. Maqrīzi recognized the identity of al-Muḥammadiyah and Rayy, a fact that was not rediscovered till the middle of the last century. Tychsen did not know it; if he had read الرّى instead of الذى, — it is clear in the Maqrīzi autograph — he would have been able to establish the identification late in the 18th Century. Furthermore, Lane-Poole, quoting from de Sacy's translation, which I have not seen, would not have mistranslated the passage in question. O. G. Tychsen, Al-Makrizi Historia Monetae Arabicae, etc., Rostochii, 1797, pg. 24, ll.7-11, l.15—pg.25, l.3; cf. Lane-Poole, The Arabian Historians on Muhammadan Numismatics, pg. 27, in Some Private Collections of Mohammadan Coins and other Essays, etc., London, 1892.)

In this year, 176, al-Faḍl b. Yahya, as mentioned above, was appointed over the districts of al-Jibāl, Ṭabaristān, Damāwand (Dunbāwand), Qūmis, Armīniyah and Adharbayjān (Rayy is not specifically mentioned, but presumably is included in al-Jibāl; but cf. the note from Ṭabari under no. 77 below, where Rayy is added to his domains, as a part of Khurāsān, in the year 177). (Tab. III, 612, ll.16-17.)



Ḥamzah b. Mālīk was appointed to Khurāsān (cf. nos. 60 above and 77 below) (Tab. loc. cit.).

77A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 177.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	سلام
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به محمد
	ولى عهد المسلمين
	صرد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة سبع وسبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1228 (and pg. 303) (with three references).

77B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 177.

Obverse as no. 77 A.

<i>Rev.</i>
سلام
محمد رسول الله
مما امر به محمد
ولى عهد المسلمين
محبوب

Pellet under the ب of محبوب.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1083.

77c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 177.

Obverse as no. 77 A.

<i>Rev.</i>
رو
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم
الخليفة الرشيد
ح

روح and ح above and beneath = روح

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1229 (one reference).

77D. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 177.

Obverse as no. 77 A.

Rev.

داود

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

صرد

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1230 (one specimen).

77E. AE. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 177.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

\*

Rev.

بسم

مما امر به

الامير العباس

بن محمد

• \* •

Rev. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفليس بالحمّدية سنة سبع وسبعين ومئة

Istanbul, no. 780; Rayy, 1934, RF 2883 (date and mint effaced); Rayy, 1936, RG 8216 (date effaced).

77F. AE. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 177.

As no. 77 E, but with nothing beneath the obverse area, and nothing above the reverse area, but و beneath (and العباس effaced).

Paris, no. 1614.

77G. AE. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 17(7).

As no. 77 E, but with O beneath the obverse area, • above the reverse area, and • \* • beneath; the digit of the date obscure.

Berlin, no. 2199 (mint effaced and listed among the "Unbestimmte Prägorte"); ANS; GCM, two specimens.

"Maḥbūb" beneath the reverse of no. 77 B is probably to be interpreted as meaning "approved", but the use of the word is strange. It is of interest to note the use of the term "Zar maḥbūb", or simply "Maḥbūb", for a gold coin introduced by the Ottoman Sulṭān Aḥmed III (1115-1143), a term said to have originated in Egypt (cf. B.M. viii, pp. xx-xxi and Ismā'il Ghālib's note in Taqvim Meskūkāt-i-ʿOṣmaniyyeh, Qusṭantīniyyah, 1307, pg. 272; and also, for a later period, R. Dozy, Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, pg. 242, with references to E. Boethor, Dictionnaire français-arabe, 3e. ed., Paris, 1864; Humbert, Guide de la conversation arabe..., Paris, Geneva, 1838; and Roland de Bussy, L'idiome d'Alger, Alger, 1847).

Rūḥ, no. 77 C, is quite possibly the freedman by that name who served al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya, governor of most of the East in this year. Cf. the note below and also under no. 76 above. He is only mentioned once in Ṭabari (III, 610, l.19-611, l.1), and then simply as Rūḥ, *maula* of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya, in connection with the reporting of Hārūn al-Rashīd's choice of Muḥammad al-Amīn as his successor in the year 174. It could not be Rūḥ b. Ḥātim, who died in Africa in 174 (Ṭab. III, 609, l.20).

For داود cf. the discussion under no. 70 above.

Al-Amīr al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, who ordered the minting of the copper coins of al-Muḥammadiyah (3 variations, nos. 77E, F, and G), cannot be definitely identified. ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī is a possibility; we know nothing of him except that he was a governor of Mecca in al-Rashīd's time (Ṭab. III, 739, ll.16-17). This identification has already been proposed by Zambaur (Contrib. III, no. 405, pg.118; cf. no. 78 below). A more likely candidate, it seems to me, is ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab, who was placed over the body-guard of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥya when the latter was sent to Syria in 180 (Ṭab. III, 639, ll.10-11), and was later with al-Maʾmūn in Khurāsān (Ṭab. III, 771, ll.16-18; 772, ll.6-9). ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad appears on another coin (undated) described under no. 78 below.

In this year al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya (cf. no. 76 above), received a greater extension of his powers of governorship when Ḥamzah b. Mālik (cf. nos. 60 and 76 above) was removed from Khurāsān, and he, Faḍl, was given this province along with Rayy and Sijistān (Ṭab. III, 629, ll.6-8; ibn-al-Athīr adds "other places", to the last named localities, VI, 96, ll. 21-23).

78. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Undated.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

مما امر به ولي عهد

المسلمين محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بالحمدية على يدي [العباس] بن محمد

Berlin, nos.2206, 2207 (mint and name of prefect effaced, unassigned); Zambaur, Contrib. III, no.405, pg.118; ANS.

Cf. the comments on al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad under no. 77, year 177.

79A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 178.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

سلام

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير محمد

ولي عهد المسلمين

محبوب

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةَ ثَمَانٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِئَةً

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

79B. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 178.

Obverse as no. 79 A.

*Rev.*

سَلام

مُحَمَّدَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ

مِمَّا أَمَرَ بِهِ الْأَمِيرُ الْأَمِينُ

وَلِيَّ عَهْدِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

مُحِبُّوهُ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1244 (with three references).

79C. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 178.

Obverse as no. 79 A,

but حَسْبُكَ beneath the area.

*Rev.*

Above the area: سَلام

Beneath the area: عُثْمَانُ

(I failed to note the inscriptions in the body of the area, but they are probably:

مُحَمَّدٌ || رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

*Rev. inner margin:* مِمَّا أَمَرَ بِهِ الْأَمِيرُ مُحَمَّدَ وَلِيَّ عَهْدِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

*Rev. outer margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

79D. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 178.

Not described by the editor.

Fonrobert, no. 6260.

For *maḥbūb* (nos. 79 A and B), cf. no. 77 above. I do not know how to explain the word beneath the obverse area of no. 79 C. Note the unusual position of the recognition of the heir apparent, al-Amīn, on an inner marginal legend of the reverse, and also the fact that in this year his name is given both as al-Amīn and as Muḥammad. I would reject the copper issue, no. 79 D, as I know of no other specimen, and the one cited here cannot be considered reliable, particularly as there is no description of the coin.

The 'Uthmān, whose name is recorded on the reverse of no. 79 C, is surely the same 'Uthmān b. Zufar whom we find on some coins of al-Muḥammadiyah in the following year, 179 (cf. no. 80 below). I have not been able to find any reference to a person by this name in the chronicles. I may suggest, however, the strong likelihood of his being a son of Zufar b. 'Āṣim al-Hilālī, a general and governor in the days of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdi. Zufar was

governor of Ḥalab (Aleppo) in 137, of Mecca in 160, of al-Jazīrah in 163 (Tab. III, 94, 1.13; 487, 1.7; 498, 11.15-16); and commanded the summer campaigns in 154, 156, and 157 (Tab. III, 373, 1.2; 378, 1.16; 380, 11.12-13). If we are right in assuming this Zufar to be 'Uthmān's father, then 'Uthmān is a brother of that Mu'āwiyah b. Zufar b. 'Āṣim, who led the summer campaigns in the years 178 and 180, and whom I have tentatively identified as the Mu'āwiyah whose name appears on a Rayy coin of the year 173 (cf. no. 73 above). The two suggested identifications support each other to such an extent that I am inclined to put forward quite definitely the thesis that the Mu'āwiyah of 173 is Mu'āwiyah b. Zufar and that 'Uthmān of 178 and 179 (forgotten in history) is his brother. (Cf. no. 80 below). It is likely that the family had become residents of Rayy.

In this year, 178, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya, who had been appointed to Khurāsān the year before (cf. no. 77 above), took his post there (Tab. III, 631, 1.5).

80A. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 179.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	سلام
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به الامير محمد
	ولي عهد المسلمين
	عثمن

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة تسع وسبعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

80B. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 179.

Obverse and reverse as no. 80A, but beneath the reverse area عثمان بن زفر instead of عثمان. Paris, no. 815 (illustr. Pl. IV).

80C. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 179.

Obverse and reverse as no. 80B, but beneath سلام a pellet.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

80D. Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 179.

A coin which I have not seen, but which is recorded on a marker in the cabinet at Istanbul, unnumbered (the coin itself had been removed) with the note الفضل.



## 80E. AR. Al-Rayy. Year 179.

Obv.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Rev.

و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير ولي  
عهد المسلمين الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب بالرّى في ولاية محمد بن يحيى سنة تسع وسبعين ومئة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 793; Ties., no. 1260 (with three references); a specimen in the Novgorod 1920 hoard (referred to in Anderson-Vasmer, pg. XI, footnote).

## 80F. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 179.

Obv.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Rev.

محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
الخليفة الراشد

Rev. margin: [بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالحمة] دية سنة تسع وسبعين ومئة

Rayy, 1934, RF 2885.

(The fragmentary coin Ties., no. 1261, Æ, al-Muḥammadiyah(?), 179, from Fraehn's Recensio, is probably to be rejected.)

For 'Uthmān and 'Uthmān b. Zufar on nos. 80A, 80B, and 80C, cf. no. 79 above. Faḍl (no. 80 D) must be al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya, who in this year, 179, left Khurāsān and delegated in his place his lieutenant, 'Umar b. Shuraḥbīl (Ṭab. III, 637, ll. 17-18). Al-Rashīd then appointed Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyari to the office (Ṭab. III, 638, l. 1). For Ja'far (no. 80 E) cf. no. 76 above.

As for Muḥammad b. Yaḥya, whose name is engraved on the obverse margin of no. 80E, — "struck in al-Rayy<sup>1</sup> in the province of Muḥammad b. Yaḥya", we have here a record of Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. al-Ḥārith b. Shakhīr, who is mentioned in Ṭabari as having been given the government of Rayy in the year 180 (Ṭab. III, 645, ll. 12-14; cf. no. 81 below). The coin under discussion here proves that Muḥammad was already governor of Rayy in 179, although Ṭabari has it that al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya was not removed from al-Rūyān, Ṭabaristān and Rayy till 180 (Ṭab., loc. cit.). I believe that we should consider that

<sup>1</sup> Note the use of *al-Rayy* here, in the sense of the province (i.e., al-Jibāl), not exclusively the city.

the passage in Ṭabari means that in the year 179 (see above, under discussion of no. 80 D) al-Faḍl's large domains included the above-mentioned provinces, and that he was relieved of them in 180; and we need correct Ṭabari only in his placing the prefecture of Muḥammad b. Yahya in Rayy one year late.

81A. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 180.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	و
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به الامير الامين
	محمد بن امير المؤمنين
	جعفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثنتين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 196 (with point beneath ب of ضرب); Berlin, nos. 1084—1085; Berlin, no. 1086 (another die, annulet variation); 46 in Assur Collection, Berlin (two dies, annulet variation); Cairo, nos. 473, 474; Istanbul, nos. 501, 502; Ties., no. 1277 (with fifteen references); ANS.

81B. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 180.

Obverse as no. 81 A.

*Rev.*

سلام

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير محمد

ولى عهد المسلمين

محبوب

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 503 (illustr. Pl. 3); Tornberg, no. 162, pg. 44 (Ties., no. 1275).

81C. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 180.

Obverse as no. 81 A.

*Rev.*

و

محمد رسول

الله مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين في

ولاية محمد بن يحيى

جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, nos.1087-1089; 14 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 472 (a above reverse area, probably a misreading); Istanbul, no. 504; Paris, no. 816 (with point below ب of ضرب); Ties., no. 1276 (with eight references); ANS (two specimens).

81d. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 180.

Obverse as no. 81 A.

Reverse blank.

Ties., no. 1278 (one reference).

81e. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 180.

*Obv.*

*Rev.*

لا اله الا

مما امر به ولى عهد

الله وحده

المسلمين محمد

لا شريك له

بن امير المؤمنين

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالحمدية على يدى الامير ..... سنة ثمانين ومئة

Bartholomae à Soret, III, no.12, pg.31 (with ابن, 3rd line of reverse, in the transcription) (Ties., no. 1292); Rayy, 1934, RTA 1171 (mint and date obscure); RH 4659 (mint effaced), RH 4777 (mint and date effaced).

In the bibliography of Tychsen, *Introductio*, pg. 42, there is a reference to a *dīnār* of al-Muḥammadiyah, year 180, Caroli Auriullii *disquisitio de numis arabicio*..... unus Alamini a. 180, *Mohammediae*, Denarius Abbasidarum. I have not been able to run down this original citation, but I strongly suspect the authenticity of the supposed *dīnār*. *Dīnārs* with the mint name al-Muḥammadiyah are known only commencing with the year 234 A.H., and furthermore there is no record of the provincial mints in any part of the empire having struck *dīnārs* before the very end of the 2nd Century (see no.122 below, and the table of *dīnārs* there).

For Muḥammad b. Yaḥya (no. 81 C, and doubtless no. 81 E), see the note under no. 80 above. It is to be remarked that on the issues of the year 180 he uses the name of the city rather than that of the province.

Ja'far (nos. 81 A and 81 C), is doubtless the famous Ja'far b. Yaḥya again. During this year Ja'far "governed" Khurāsān for a brief twenty days (Tab. III, 644, ll.16-18), during which time, or rather probably after his appointment and before his actual taking of office, he chose Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah as his legate (Tab. III, 644, ll. 14-15). When the Caliph relieved Ja'far of the office in Khurāsān, 'Isa b. Ja'far was appointed in his place (Tab. III, 694, ll.16-18). During this year also the State Seal was taken from Ja'far and given to his father, Yaḥya b. Khālīd (Tab. III, 644, ll.12-13); and Ja'far was assigned the responsibility of the guard (الحرس) (Tab. III, 644, l.19). It is apparent that none of these events had any effect upon the privilege that Ja'far already possessed of placing his name on the coinage (cf. the discussion under no. 76 above).

82A. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 181.*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*

و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة احدى وثمانين ومئة*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 197 (with point under ب of ضرب); Berlin, nos. 1090–1092; Berlin, no. 1093 (another die); 37 of one die, 33 of another, and one of a third die in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 475; Istanbul, nos. 505, 506, 507 (three dies, annulet and border variations); Paris, no. 817; Ties., no. 1296 (with thirteen references); ANS (two specimens, both with the point under the ب of ضرب); GCM (also with the point).

82B. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 181.

Obverse as no. 82 A.

*Rev.*

سلام  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
[اسد or اسك]

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

One specimen in Assur Collection, Berlin.

Asad (?), whose name appears on the unique coin, no. 82 B, might possibly be Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazīd, who later, on the death of his father in 185 (cf. no. 75 above) governed Armenia (Ṭab. III, 650, l. 16) and was with al-Ma'mūn at the time of al-Rashīd's death in 193 (Ṭab. III, 734, ll. 2–3); later, 196, imprisoned by al-Amīn (Ṭab. III, 833ff.). There is no mention in the chronicles of the removal of Muḥammad b. Yahya (nos. 80–81, above) from the government of Rayy in 181, but since the latter's name no longer appears on the *dirhams* of this year it is quite possible that the unique coin under discussion records the appointment of a new governor in his place; but it is curious that there should be only one specimen of this die extant. In the following year, 182 (see no. 83 J below), we meet the name again, and once more the small number of specimens known in comparison to the number of specimens of the same year of various other dies, without the name Asad, is remarkable. (Cf. a reference of Tiesenhansen under no. 1314a where it appears that Fraehn in his unpublished notes suggested "Ased ben-Jesid Scheibanides", i. e. Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazīd.)

83A. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.*

*Obv.*  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له

*Rev.*  
 و  
 محمد رسول الله  
 مما امر به الامير الامين  
 محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
 جعفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ائنتين وثمانين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, nos. 1094, 1095; 19 of one die, five of another, four of a third, and two of a fourth die in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, no. 510, and one unnumbered; Ties., no. 1314 (with seven references); ANS (two specimens).

83B. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.*

Obverse as no. 83 A.

Reverse as no. 83 A, but with !.! above the area in place of و, and جعفر beneath.

Berlin, no. 1096; 34 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, nos. 508, 509; Paris, no. 818; Ties., no. 1316 (with eight references); ANS.

83C. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.*

Obverse as no. 83 A.

Reverse as no. 83 A, but with .:. above the area in place of و, and جعفر beneath.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 105 (233, 234), pg. 35; B.M. i, no. 198; Cairo, nos. 476-478; Istanbul, no. 511, and two unnumbered; Ties., no. 1317 (with two references); 15 in Assur Collection, Berlin; ANS.

83D. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.*

Obverse as no. 83 A.

Reverse as no. 83 A, but with nothing above the area; and جعفر beneath.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 840 (probably); Istanbul, no. 512; Tornberg, no. 174, pg. 47 (Ties., no. 1313).

83E. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.*

Obverse as no. 83 A.

Reverse as no. 83 A, but with a pellet beneath جعفر.

Ties., no. 1315.



83f. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.

Obverse as no. 83 A.

*Rev.*

و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامين ولى  
عهد المساعين الامير  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1097; Ties., no. 1318 (one reference with arrangement of lines not indicated);  
Ties., no. 1322 (with one reference).

83g. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.

Obverse as no. 83 A.

Reverse as no. 83 F, but without و above  
the area; جعفر beneath.

Ties., no. 1321 (with three references).

83h. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.

Obverse as no. 83 A.

*Rev.*

و  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وسلم  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

Ties., no. 1319 (with one reference).

83i. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.

Obverse as no. 83 A.

Reverse as no. 83 H, but with س above  
the area in place of و; جعفر beneath.

Ties., no. 1320 (with one reference).

83j. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 182.

Obverse as no. 83 A.

*Rev.*

داود  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
اسد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1314a (with two references); one in Assur Collection, Berlin.

(The *dirham*, da Cunha, Pt.1, no.841, pg.34, cannot be assigned to one of the dies described above, for lack of exact description; so also with *dirhams* listed by Nesselman and Karabacek in ZDMG, 1858, pg. 694; 1866, pg. 610, and 1870, pg. 231.)

For Asad, see the note under no.82 above; داود, see under no.70.

84A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 183.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*

س  
محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثلث وثمانين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. i, no 199; Berlin, nos. 1102–1104; 34 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, no. 513, and three unnumbered; Paris, no. 819; Ties., no. 1342 (with twelve references; the editor corrected the omission of the word صلى from the 3rd line, on pg. 304, no. 1342); ANS (three specimens).

84B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 183.

Obverse as no. 84 A.

Reverse as no. 84 A, but with و above the area instead of جعفر; س beneath.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 110 (243), pg. 36; Ties., no. 2796 (with one reference).

84C. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 183.

Obverse as no. 84 A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. Add. i, no. 198a, pg. 51; Berlin, nos. 1098–1101; 37 in Assur Collection, Berlin (two dies, variation in annulets); Cairo, nos. 479, 479 A; Istanbul, no. 515, and three unnumbered; Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici, III, N.C., 1885, pg. 329; Rogers Collection, no. 359; Ties., no. 1341 (with ten references); ANS (two specimens).

84D. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 183.

Obverse as no. 84 A.

Rev.

محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
صرد

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 514 (the word beneath the reverse area transcribed صبر?); ANS.

84E. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 183.

Obverse as no. 84 A.

Reverse as no. 84 D, but with داود above  
the area; صرد beneath.

Cairo, no. 480.

For داود see the discussion under no. 70 above.

In this year 'Ali b. 'Īsa named his son as his representative in Khurāsān, and the Caliph al-Rashīd approved the appointment (Tab. III, 648, l.17-649, l.1). As the name Asad appears on none of the coins of the year 183, I presume he was no longer (if ever) governor of Rayy; but the rarity of the specimens with his name in the two preceding years makes a definite conclusion impossible.

85A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obv.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Rev.

س  
محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة اربع وثمانين ومئة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 200; Berlin, nos. 1105-1108; 45 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 481; Istanbul, no. 516, and one unnumbered; Ties., no. 1357 (with 14 references); ANS.

85b. *Ṙ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obverse as no. 85 A.

*Rev.*

داود

محمد رسول

الله الامين ولي

عهد المسلمين

صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 820; Ties., no. 2804 (with one reference); Tornberg, Suppl. 186a (Ties., no. 1359).

85c. *Ṙ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obverse as no. 85 A.

*Rev.*

داود

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

صرد

.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 201 (point beneath ر of ضرب); Ties., no. 1360 (with two references); Istanbul, unnumbered and misassigned to year 164.

85d. *Ṙ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obverse as no. 85 A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير ولي

عهد المسلمين الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

• بخ •

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 2801 (with one ref. to Nesselmann, ZDMG, 1858, pg. 694, no. 5).

85E. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obverse as no. 85 A.

Rev.

و

محمد رسول

الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 2800 (with one reference).

85F. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obverse as no. 85 A.

Rev.

عبيد

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

محمد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 2803 (with one reference).

85G. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 184.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

••

مما امر به ولي عهد

المسلمين محمد بن امير

المؤمنين على يدى الحرب

مولى امير المؤمنين

\*

Border: ☉☉☉☉☉

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالحمدية سنة اربع وثمانين ومئة

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 61, pp. 356-357 (illustr. Pl. XIV, fig. 10; الحرب or الحرب; the pellets above the area not described or illustrated in the drawing, nor is the star beneath the transcription) (Ties., no. 1369); Berlin, no. 2187 (الحرب, so transcribed); GCM, obscure; Rayy, 1936, RN 6903 (date and mint effaced).



For Dāwūd (nos. 85 B and C), see the discussion under no. 70 above.

ʿUbayd, appearing on no. 85 F, and later in the years 187, 188, 189, 190 and 195 (nos. 88, 89, 90, 91 and 96 below), sometimes as ʿUbaydullāh, is a name that I cannot explain. He might possibly be the ʿUbaydullāh b. Yaḥya who appears on coins of Arrān in 209 and 210 (F. Soret, *Lettre à M. Sawelief*, etc., in *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1854, no. 28, pp. 293–294; B.M.i, no. 272), but who was this individual? Or was it ʿUbaydullāh b. al-Mahdi, appointed to the governorship of Armenia in 172 (Tab. III, 607, ll. 5–6)?

As for الحرب مولى امير المؤمنين, on the copper issue no. 85 G, it is impossible to tell whether the name of this freedman was al-Ḥarib (الحرب) or al-Ḥarith, for al-Ḥarith (الحارث). In either case his name is not preserved in the chronicles. The only Ḥarib possible is Ḥarib b. Qays abu-Ḥanifah, and he was no freedman, and besides was already a grown man in the year 137 (Tab. III, 114, l. 11). There is no Ḥarith who fits.

In this year Yaḥya al-Ḥarashi was governor of al-Jabal (Tab. III, 649, l. 16; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 113, l. 18; الجبل, sic. in Ṭabari and ibn-al-Athīr). The usual name for the province (Media) was al-Jibāl, but from now on in the chronicles we quite often find al-Jabal, employed as far as I can make out, interchangeably. Sometimes it is Bilād al-Jabal, which of course, the abbreviated name means. Yāqūt defines al-Jibāl as: now (i. e. in his time, the early 7th Century) known as al-ʿajam bi-al-ʿIrāq. It was what was between Iṣbahān, and Zanjan, Qazwīn, Hamadhān, al-Dīnawar, Qirmisīn and al-Rayy (Yāqūt, II, 15–16). Al-Jabal, he says, was the comprehensive name for those districts which were included in al-Jibāl. الجبل هو اسم جامع لهذه الاعمال التي يقال لها الجبال. A certain al-Hamadhāni was called al-Jabali because Hamadhān was in the Bilād al-Jabal (Yāqūt, II, 22–23). To return to Yaḥya al-Ḥarashi, he had been a temporary governor of Miṣr in 162, was retired from the government of Iṣbahān in 163, governor of Ṭabaristān, al-Rūyān and Jurjān from 164 till 167, when he was relieved (Tab. III, 493, l. 18, 500, l. 16, 503, l. 11, 518, ll. 13–14, 520, ll. 13–15)<sup>1</sup>.

86A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	و
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به الامير ولي
	عهد المسلمين الامين
	محمد بن امير المؤمنين
	جعفر

<sup>1</sup> Zambaur (Contrib. I, no. 56, pg. 69) has described a *fals* “sans nom de ville ni date”, the obverse not described, but the reverse reading: محمد رسول الله || مما امر به الامير || يحيى الحرشي || بخ || margin: des traces indistinctes, peut-être la formule d’émission. The editor identifies Yaḥya, giving dates differing in several instances from those mentioned above, and proposes to at-

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمِ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَثَمْنِينَ وَمِئَةً

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 517, and five unnumbered; Ties., no. 1377 (with two references). (The published Istanbul specimen is erroneously transcribed: (الامير محمد).

86b. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185.

Obverse as no. 86 A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول

الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no. 202 (with ~~و~~ above reverse area, possibly blundered *و*); Berlin, nos. 1109, 1110; 13 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 482; Ties., no. 1374 (with eight references); ANS

86c. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185.

Obverse as no. 86 A.

Reverse as no. 86 B, but with *س* in place of *و*, above the area; جعفر beneath.

Ties., no. 1375 (with two references); three in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, two unnumbered.

(Tiesenhhausen, no. 1376, gives another variety with *••* above the reverse area in place of *و* or *س*, with a single reference to Tornberg, no. 188, but as the latter specimen is described as bearing *و*, it is probable that Tiesenhhausen slipped on his reference, though here may be a die with *••*).

86d. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

خج

مما امر به ولي عهد

المسلمين محمد بن امير

المؤمنين على يدى الحرب

مولى امير المؤمنين

\* خج \*

tribute the coin to al-Muḥammadiyah between the years 170 and 180, "en considérant le style, la série des fcls connus de cette ville, et enfin l'endroit où elle a été trouvée". I have not given the coin a regular entry, feeling that more definite evidence is needed to assign it to the Rayy mint.

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالمحمّدية سنة خمس وثمانين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, cop. no.133 (illustr. Pl. VIII) (pellet described before لا of 1<sup>st</sup> line obverse area; transcription الحرب); Berlin, no.2188 (transcription الحرب); ANS; GCM (mint obscure); Rayy, 1934, RCh 427, 428 (date and mint effaced).

86e. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185.

Obverse as no.86 D, but the margin has a curious fault in the die, or in the striking, i.e. the legend is interrupted by and overlaps with a link border.

Reverse as no.86 D.

GCM

86f. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185.

Obverse as no.86 D.

*Rev.*

مما امر به ولى عهد  
المسلمين محمد بن امير  
المؤمنين على يدى الحرب  
مولى امير المؤ  
منين

“En haut il y a un trait recourbé en forme d'un S renversé” (on the reverse?).

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 62, pp. 357–358 (transcription, implicit, الحرب) (Ties., no.1392).

For the unidentified al-Ḥarib or al-Ḥarith, cf. the note under no.85 above.

87a. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*

سلم  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة ست وثمانين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. Add. i, no. 203b, pg.51; Berlin, nos.1116–1118; 13 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici, III, N. C. 1885, pg. 329, IV, N. C. 1886, pg. 228; Paris, no. 822; Ties., no.1395 (with seven references); Istanbul, two unnumbered; ANS.

## 87B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186.

Obverse as no. 87 A.

Rev.

و  
محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 203 (point beneath ب of ضرب); B. M. Add. i, no. 203a (point ?); Berlin, no. 1111; nos. 1112–1115 (another die, annulet variation); 50 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 483, 484; Istanbul, no. 518, and four unnumbered; Paris, no. 821; Ties., no. 1398 (with eight references, one of which has the point beneath the ب of ضرب noted).

## 87c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186.

Obverse as no. 87 A.

Reverse as no. 87 B, but without و above the area; جعفر beneath.

Tornberg, no. 196; Istanbul, unnumbered and misassigned to year 176.

(Tiesenhausen, no. 1397, has a specimen listed with no و or جعفر above and beneath the reverse area, but as his single reference is to Tornberg no. 196, — see above no. 87 C — we may assume that this is a slip.)

## 87d. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186.

Obverse as no. 87 A.

Reverse as no. 87 B, but above the area سلام in place of و, and beneath صرد in place of جعفر.

Berlin, no. 1119; Istanbul, unnumbered and misassigned to year 176.

## 87e. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186.

Obverse as no. 87 A.

Rev.

داود  
محمد رسول  
الله الامين ولي  
عهد المسلمين  
صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1120; Ties., no. 1396 (داود or دانك) (with two references).

87F. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186.

Obverse as no. 87 A.

Rev.

داود

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

صرد

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS (the د of صرد is off line).

For داود, see the discussion under no. 70 above.

88A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

سلم

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير الامين

عبد الله [sic] بن امير المؤمنين

جعفر

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة سبع وثمانين ومئة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, no. 199a (Ties., no. 1416).

88B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

Rev.

و

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامين ولي

عهد المسلمين الامير

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

جعفر

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 121 B (XIX), pg. 104 (another die, annulet variation); Markoff, no. 518; Ties., no. 2810 (with one reference).



88c. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

*Rev.*

سلام

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1411 (with three references).

88d. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

Reverse as no. 88 C, but with سلم in place of صرد beneath the area, and nothing above.

Ties., no. 1414 (with two references); one in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, unnumbered; ANS.

88e. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

Reverse as no. 88 C, but with عبيد beneath the area in place of صرد, and nothing above.

Fraehn, Recensio, no. 216, pg. 29\* (Ties., no. 1413).

88f. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

Reverse as no. 88 E, but with ه above the area; عبيد beneath.

Ties., no. 1415 (with two references).

88g. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

Reverse as no. 88 C, but with ام جعفر above the area, and داود or دانك beneath.

Fraehn, Recensio, no. 215, pg. 29\* (Ties., no. 1412).

88h. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 187.

Obverse as no. 88 A.

*Rev.*

سلام

محمد رسول

الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

مما امر به الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المؤمنين

صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1121.

Al-Amīr al-Amīn 'Abdullāh son of the Commander of the Faithful (no. 88 A), must, I think, be a mistake of Tornberg's. If not, it is a very curious error of the die-engraver's.

For 'Ubayd (nos. 88 E and F), cf. the note under no. 85 above. For داود cf. the discussion under no. 70.

In this year, the first night of Šafar, 187, took place the notorious execution of Ja'far the Barmakid, at the orders of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (Tab. III, 685, ll. 3-5). It is an extraordinary fact that the name, Ja'far, continues to appear on coins of al-Muḥammadiyah after Ja'far's death, i.e. in 189 (no. 90) and 193 (no. 94). This practice may perhaps be explained as a remorseful homage which al-Rashīd ordered to be paid to his boon companion; or else we may conceivably account for it on the grounds that the word Ja'far on the coinage of this mint had by now become almost meaningless and was treated by the die designers more or less as a certification of the genuineness of the coin.

The extraordinary inscription أم جعفر, Umm-Ja'far (no. 88 G, and cf. nos. 89 C, year 188, 90 D, year 189, and 91 A, year 190 below), must, I think, have been engraved on the coins at the order of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Umm-Ja'far was Hārūn's wife Zubaydah, daughter of Ja'far, son of the Caliph al-Manšūr. She is famous in history and legend for her energy and her piety; no one exceeded her in good works, and her building of an aqueduct to supply the Holy City with water was a noteworthy contribution to the welfare of the people (ibn-Khallikān, I, 337, ll. 12-25; cf. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, II, 164). She was al-Amīn's mother. I wonder if the first occurrence of the numismatic inscription in her honour cannot be linked in some way to the death of Ja'far b. Yaḥya in this year. An incident at Mecca in the preceding year, when Ja'far had cursed al-Amīn, had stirred her resentment against the Barmakid, and she was one of the first, according to Mas'ūdi, to rouse Hārūn's anger against his old friend. ولهذا السبب اضطغت أم جعفر على جعفر بن يحيى (Mas'ūdi, VI, 327-328). Umm-Ja'far died in Jumāda I, 216 (Tab. III, 1105, l. 12).

89A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 188.

*Obv.*  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*  
م  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
عبيد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان وثمانين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 823 (the letter above the reverse area described as م, probably the shortened form as usual); Ties., no. 1434 (with two references).

89b. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 188.

Obverse as no. 89 A.

Reverse as no. 89 A, but with no letter above the area; عید beneath.

Fraehn, *Recensio*, no. 223, pg. 30\* (*Ties.*, no. 1433).89c. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 188.

Obverse as no. 89 A.

Reverse as no. 89 A, but with ام جعفر above the area in place of م, and صرد beneath in place of عید.

*Ties.*, no. 1435 (with two references).89d. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 188.

Obverse as no. 89 A.

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

B. M. i, nos. 204, 205; Berlin, nos. 1122–1125; 20 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, nos. 485, 486; *Ties.*, no. 1431 (with nine references); Istanbul, three unnumbered; ANS.89e. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 188.

Obverse as no. 89 A.

Reverse as no. 89 D, but without the . beneath the area.

*Ties.*, no. 1432 (with one reference); Istanbul, two unnumbered.

Note the return in the issues nos. 89 D and 89 E to the simple style of reverse legends. Ja'far may have had more than nominal administration of the coinage and we may have here the reflection of a reactionary reform instituted by a new director after Ja'far's death, although to be sure the elaborate reverse inscriptions are not entirely eliminated in the immediately ensuing years. Maqrīzi states (op. cit., ed. Mayer, pg. 8, ll. 17–18; ed. Tychsen, pg. 25, ll. 9–11) that when al-Rashīd executed Ja'far he turned the coinage over to al-Sindi. (Would this be al-Sindi b. Yahya al-Ḥarashi? Cf. Ṭabari index.) For 'Ubayd, cf. the note under no. 85 above. The way 'Ubayd alternates with auxiliary words, like *ṣard*, suggests that this word is not the name of a governor or prefect. For Umm-Ja'far (no. 89 C), cf. the discussion under no. 88 above.

## 90A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 189.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*

عبيد  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
مخلد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة تسع وثمانين ومئة*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 131 (305-307), pg. 43; Fraehn, Recensio, no. 228, pg. 43; Fraehn, Recensio, no. 228, pg. 31\* (Ties., no. 1451); four in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 90B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 189.

Obverse as no. 90 A.

Reverse as no. 90 A, but with م above the area in place of عبيد, and عبيد beneath in place of مخلد.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 90C. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 189.

Obverse as no. 90 A.

Reverse as no. 90 A, but with سلام above the area in place of عبيد, and صرد beneath in place of مخلد.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin. (Tornberg describes a fragmentary coin in "Die Jüngsten... etc.", with only ولي عهد المسلمين and beneath صرد preserved; this coin is perhaps to be included here, if we suppose ولي عهد المسلمين to have been misread.)

## 90D. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 189.

*Obv.*

جعفر  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
عبيد الله

*Rev.*

يابق الله  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
لام جعفر

*Obv. margin:* As on no. 90 A.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1452 (with three references).

## 90E. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 189.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	هـ

*Obv. margin:* as on no. 90 A.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

B. M. i, no. 206; Berlin, nos. 1126–1128; 15 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 487; Paris, no. 824; Ties., no. 1449 (with twelve references); ANS (three specimens); Istanbul, three unnumbered; GCM.

## 90F. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 189.

Obverse as no. 90 E, but with the date

Reverse as no. 90 E.

written: تسعين وثمانين ومئة.

Berlin, no. 1129 (I did not examine each of the 15 specimens from the Assur Collection referred to under no. 90 E, to see if any has this fault in writing the date).

## 90G. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 189.

Obverse as no. 90 E.

Reverse as no. 90 E, but with • beneath the area in place of هـ. (Tiesenhhausen describes the specimen as being without هـ.)

Tornberg, no. 210 (Ties., no. 1450).

## 90H. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 189.

Obverse as no. 90 A.

*Rev.*

و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير المأمون  
عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين ولى  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
خ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1453 (with two references).

For 'Ubayd (nos. 90 A, 90 B, and 90 D), cf. the note under no. 85 above. The full name, عبيد الله, 'Ubaydullāh, occurs on no. 90 D for the first time on the obverse. This is the first instance of the introduction of anything but the religious formulae and occasional auxiliary



letters or marks on the obverse types; henceforth, particularly after the mentioning of the name of the Caliph becomes a common practice, the obverse becomes less and less sacrosanct until in the later middle ages the religious formulae are forced entirely off many of the coins.

مخلد, (no. 90 A), probably مَخْلَد, though the reading is not certain, might mean "eternal", i. e. "lasting metal".

On no. 90 D the remarkable inscription, أم جعفر, Umm-Ja'far, is again met with, this time in the form يبق الله لام جعفر, probably يَبْقَى. One of the specimens cited by Tiesenhäusen (Hallenberg, II, Tab. III, no. I, pp. 14-17), was originally transcribed رومن الله, but the illustration of this inscription and the one specimen of a coin with a similar inscription which I have seen at first hand (in the Istanbul Cabinet, cf. no. 91 A below, year 190), convince me that يبق is the only possible reading. Besides رومن is unintelligible; and روم الله جعفر, suggested by Fraehn, is intelligible but ungrammatical; and furthermore the first two letters cannot be read as ر and ف. (Hallenberg transliterated عبد الله, but his illustration shows عبيد الله.) Nesselmann, after first reading سو الله on his specimens of the year 190, transcribed يبق الله and translated "Gott erbarme sich (IV بقى) der Omm Dschafar, d. i. der Sobaida" (cf. Nesselmann, nos. 135, 136, and "Zur arabischen Numismatik" in ZDMG, 1857, pp. 145-146). Stickel criticised Fraehn's transcription and read correctly يبق الله لام جعفر, translating, "Gott gebe langes Leben (بقاء) der Mutter Dschafar's, in ZDMG, 1856, pp. 565-566. For the significance of the appearance of the name Umm-Ja'far, cf. the discussion under no. 88 above. The inscription is, undoubtedly يبق الله لام جعفر, "God grant long life to Umm-Ja'far".

No. 90 H bears a most interesting inscription, "Al-Amīr al-Ma'mūn, 'Abdullāh b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Wali of the Wali 'Ahd of the Muslims", — that is, heir to the heir to the throne. One might take the repetition of the word *wali* for an error on the part of the die engraver, if it were not for the light that is thrown upon the inscription by a passage in the chronicles. Hārūn al-Rashīd made a four-months' visit (from Jumāda I till Sha'bān or Ramaḍān) to Rayy in this year, 189, during which time al-Ma'mūn was there. It was on this occasion that the Caliph gave his elder son a wealth of gifts including, it seems, the command of the entire army and the munitions, and at the same time formally announced al-Ma'mūn's appointment as second heir (Tab. III, 701, ll. 20-21; 702, l. 1-705, l. 11; cf. ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 130, l. 18-132, l. 24; Weil, II, pp. 164-165). Instructions were doubtless given at the time that this dignity should be recorded on the coinage at Rayy, or else al-Ma'mūn himself ordered it to be done<sup>1</sup>. Hence "Wali Wali 'Ahd". It is curious that the

<sup>1</sup> Similar inscriptions had already appeared on the coinage of some of the cities of eastern Khurāsān. Cf. R, Ma'dīn al-Shāsh, 180 (Ties., no. 1281); R, Balkh, 181, 185, 186 (Ties., nos. 1304, 1382, 1399); R, Marw, 186 (Ties. no. 1404); R, Balkh, 187, 188 (Ties., nos. 1418, 1437); R, Kirmān, 188 (Ties., no. 1442). Cf. also the other issues of 189: R, Balkh (Ties., nos. 1454-5), Ma'dīn al-Shāsh (Ties., no. 1462); and, of the year 190, R, Ma'dīn al-Shāsh (Ties., no. 1478).

issues of the years 190 and 191 should not bear the same inscription, but note that it reappears in the year 192 (cf. no. 93 B below).

‘Abdullāh b. Mālīk was in this year appointed governor of Rayy, Ṭabaristān, al-Rūyān, Dunbāwand, Qūmis and Hamadhān (Ṭab. III, 705, ll.12–14; cf. ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 132, ll.20–22).

91A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 190.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	يحيى الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به الامير الامين
عبيد الله	محمد بن امير المؤمنين
	لام جعفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة تسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur’ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no.1475 (with five references, and comment that the name under the obverse area is sometimes transcribed عبيد الله, sometimes عبيد لله; cf. Nesselmann, Zur arabischen Numismatik, in ZDMG, 1857, pg.146); Istanbul, unnumbered.

91B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 190.

Obverse as no. 91 A.

*Rev.*  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
•

*Rev. margin:* Qur’ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

B.M.i, no. 207; Berlin, no.1130, and nos.1131–1136 (another die, border variation); 8 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 488; Istanbul, nos.519, 520 (two dies, a difference in ornament), and one unnumbered; Nesselmann, no.134 (with و or •.) (Ties., no.1474); Paris., no.825; Ties., no.1473 (with 13 references); ANS (two specimens); GCM.

For عبيد الله (no. 91 A), cf. no. 85 above. The inscription, يحيى الله لام جعفر (no. 91 A), has been discussed under nos. 90 and 88 above.

92. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 191.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله •

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ أَحَدَى وَتَسْعِينَ وَمِئَةً

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

B.M.i, no. 208; Berlin, nos.1137, 1138; six in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, nos.521, 522 (two dies) and two unnumbered; Paris, no. 826; Ties., no. 1493 (with seven references); ANS (two specimens); GCM.

(Tornberg has an entry, no.223, referred to by Tiesenhausen, no.1494, with the reverse area inscriptions: **مبیا || محمد رسول || الله صلى الله عليه وسلم || الخليفة الرشيد || رك**. Unique, and identical in its formula with that used in the years 170 to 175 and discarded thereafter, the coin, it seems to me, is almost certainly wrongly attributed and should be read 171. Ninety for seventy is of course easily misread in numismatic Kufic.)

93A. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 192.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	•

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ اثْنَتَيْنِ وَتَسْعِينَ وَمِئَةً

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

B.M.i, no. 209; Berlin, nos.1139–1142; 9 in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, no.523; Paris, no.827; Ties., no.1508 (with ten references); ANS.

93B. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 192.

Obverse as no. 93 A.

*Rev.*

و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير المأمون  
عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين ولى  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
نخ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no.1509 (with two references).

(Tiesenhausen has another entry, no.1510, with a single reference, with reverse area inscription: **دا || محمد رسول || الله صلى الله عليه وسلم || الخليفة الرشيد || ود**. For reasons similar to those stated under no. 92 above, I would reject the assignment of this coin to

the year 192 and assign it to the year 172; cf. the identical type of the latter year, no. 72 A.)

For the significance of no. 93 B with al-Ma'mūn as Wali Wali 'Ahd, cf. the note under no. 90 above.

94A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 193.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	•

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ثلث وتسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

B.M. i, no. 210; Berlin, nos. 1143, 1144; four in Assur Collection, Berlin; Cairo, no. 489; Ties., no. 1532 (with nine references); Istanbul, three unnumbered; ANS; GCM; Iṣṭakhr, 1935, I<sub>1</sub>-97 (half coin), and I<sub>1</sub>-203.

94B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 193.

Obverse as no. 94 A.

*Rev.*  
و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامين ولى  
عهد المسلمين الامام  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān; IX, 33.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, II, N. C., 1885, pg. 230; two in Assur Collection, Berlin (my notes show الامير in place of الامام, probably an error in copying on my part).

94C. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 193.

Obverse as no. 94 A.

*Rev.*  
و  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
جعفر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no.1533 (with one reference and Fraehn's MS. note: Hujus numi pars postica, quum reddat atquae referat numos Aminianos Dschafaro Bernekide vivo cusos, et maxime quidem numum signandam *vetus typus* per errorem sit adhibitus. There is no exact parallel to this inscription in the year 183, cf. no.84 above).

94D. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 193.

Obverse as no. 94 A.

*Rev.*

ربى

محمد

رسول

الله

•

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no.1275.

94E. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 193.

Neither obverse nor reverse is fully described, but the obverse is doubtless as usual, and the reverse bears al-Ma'mūn's name (or else the editor has assigned the coin to al-Ma'mūn on other grounds), and has above the area

ربى الله.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 853, pg. 35.

The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd died in this year, the 3rd of Jumāda II, according to the usual accounts (E. of I), or the 23rd of Šafar (Ṭab. III, 733ff.). He was succeeded by his younger son, al-Amīn. Nos.94 A, B, and C were struck during al-Rashīd's life-time, A being of the common type of the immediately preceding years; B and C (with the old Ja'far, cf. no. 88 above) bearing the name of al-Amīn Muḥammad as heir apparent. No. 94 D, with ربى above the reverse area, was assigned (on what grounds?) by Nützel to al-Amīn as Caliph. The attribution is undoubtedly correct. Maqrīzī, in his treatise on Arab numismatics, once more proves his reliability (or that of his sources) by telling us that on Hārūn al-Rashīd's death, the management of the coinage was assigned by al-Amīn to al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', who directed that there be inscribed on the coins the words ربى الله, "Allah is my Lord", and his name al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl. هرون ..... حتى كان ايام الامين محمد بن هرون الرشيد فصير دور الضرب الى العباس ابن الفضل بن الربيع فتقش في السكة باعلى السطر ربى الله ومن اسفلها الرشيد (Al-Maqrīzī, Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fi Dhikr al-Nuqūd, ed. L. A. Mayer, pg. 8, ll. 23-25, ed. Tyehsen, pg. 26, ll. 4-8; cf. Lane-Poole, The Arabian Historians on Muhammadan Numismatics, pg. 28, in "Some Private Collections, etc.", London, 1892.) While on the coin here under discussion there is only ربى, "my Lord", a later issue (cf. no.95 below) and the incompletely described coin no. 94 E above, bear the full inscription ربى الله, but not



the name of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl, whom I have not succeeded in identifying. On the basis of Maqrīzī's statement, I strongly suspect that al-Ma'mūn's name does not appear on the coin of the da Cunha collection (no. 94 E), and I believe that this coin too is to be attributed to al-Amīn.

95A. Ⲁ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 194.

*Obv.*  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*  
ربي الله  
محمد  
رسول  
الله

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة اربع وتسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 859; Ties., no. 1569 (with two references); one in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, unnumbered.

95B. Ⲁ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 194.

Obverse as no. 95 A.

*Rev.*  
سلام  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الخليفة  
محمد امير المؤمنين  
صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1568 (with two references).

95C. Ⲁ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 194.

Obverse as no. 95 A.

*Rev.*  
سلام  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به محمد  
بن امير المؤمنين [sic]  
صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, no. 241 (Ties., no. 1567).

## 95D. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 194.

Obverse as no. 95 A.

Rev.

لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 مما امر به الامام المأمون  
 ولي عهد المسلمين  
 عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين  
 الفضل

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 239p, pg. 53; Berlin, nos. 1276, 1277; one in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, no. 554; Ties., no. 1571 (with one reference); GCM.

## 95E. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 194.

Obverse as no. 95 A.

Reverse as no. 95 D, but without الفضل beneath the area.

Ties., no. 1570 (with one reference); two in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 95F. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 194.

Obverse as no. 95 A.

Reverse as no. 95 D, but with العباس in place of الفضل beneath the area.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, VII, N.C., 1892, pg. 161 (with mistaken reference to B.M.i, no. 138; it should be B.M.i, no. 238); one in Assur Collection, Berlin; Istanbul, three unnumbered, two of which wrongly assigned to year 184.

On the basis of the argument presented under no. 94 above, we can assign no. 95 A to the Caliph al-Amin. No. 95 B has al-Khalifah Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, and is therefore also al-Amin's. No. 95 C is certainly al-Amin's. The only question is whether the error "Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful" is that of the die-engraver and mint-director, or Tornberg's. This question cannot be settled. Tornberg may have misread the date or the area inscriptions; on the other hand, an inadvertence in the designing of the coin, not long after al-Rashid's death, is quite conceivable. Nos. 95 D, E, and F all bear al-Ma'mun's name as heir apparent, and were, no doubt, struck at al-Ma'mun's orders. It was in this year that the active dissension between al-Amin and his brother began (Tab. III, 776ff.); and an important step was the occupation of Rayy by the famous general, Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. ورد الرى فنزلها ووكل باطرافها ووضع مسالحه وبث عيونہ (Tab. III, 794, ll. 1-9). Tāhir's name does not actually appear on the coins till a little later, but his successes at this point and in the following year (he earned the epithet of dhu-al-Yaminayn, the Ambidextrous, at the battle of Rayy, cf. no. 96 below) gave him the prominence that later enabled him to found the first of the petty dynasties that later, as they grew into powerful dynasties, undermined the 'Abbāsid Caliphate in the East.



96b. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96A.

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الخليفة  
محمد امير المؤمنين  
عبيد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1598 (with five references).

96c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96A.

*Rev.*

داود  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الخليفة  
محمد امير المؤمنين  
صرد

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Fraehn, Recensio, no. 266, pg. 6\*\* (Ties., no. 1600).

96d. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96A.

*Rev.*

الفضل  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامام المأمون  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين  
طاهر

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 289s, pg. 56; Berlin, no. 1278; three in Assur Collection, Berlin; Fraehn, Recensio, no. 268, pg. 7\*\* (Ties., no. 1601); Paris, no. 860; ANS.

96e. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96A.

Reverse as no. 96 D, but above the area  
له in place of الفضل; and beneath the area  
الفضل in place of طاهر; beneath الفضل a  
pellet.

Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici, III, N.C., 1885, pg. 330.

96r. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96 A.

Rev.

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير [sic] [المأمون]  
ولى عهد المسلمين  
عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين  
الفضل

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, no. 248 (Ties., no. 1599).

96g. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obv.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Rev.

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به عبد الله  
عبد الله المأمون امير المؤمنين  
الفضل

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة خمس وتسعين ومئة

Obv. outer margin: طاهر بن الحسين مولى المأمون

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1631 (with one reference); Tornberg, no. 262, fragmentary (Ties., no. 1632).

(The reading of the above coin may be unreliable; it should perhaps be included with no. 96 H or 96 I below.)

96h. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96 G, but with ذواليمينين  
beneath the area, and the outer margin  
thus: ○ طاهر || بن الحسين || مولى المأمون ○

Rev.

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله  
المأمون امير المؤمنين  
الفضل

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Porter, N. C., 1921, pg. 230 (commented on by Zambaur, N. Z. Wien, 1922, pg. 7).

## 96r. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 195.

Obverse as no. 96 G, but with a star(?)  
beneath the area, and the outer margin  
obscure, but apparently:

طاهر © بن الحسين © مولى © المأمون

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به عبد الله عبد ...

المأمون أمير المؤمنين

الفضل

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 96r. Æ. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 195.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

لله

مما امر به

الامير المأمون

ولى عهد المسلمين

طاهر

Rev. margin: ..... بالمحمّدية سنة خمس وتسعين ومئة.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 66, pg. 360 (illustr. Pl. XIV, fig. 12) (Ties., no. 2824).

Nos. 96 B and 96 C recognize al-Amīn, and no. 96 A, with no inscriptions other than the religious formulae, is probably in the "Amīn tradition". For 'Ubayd (no. 96 B), see the discussion under nos. 85 and 90 above. For داود, (no. 96 C), cf. no. 70. The *dirhams*, nos. 96 D, 96 E, and 96 F, and the *fals*, no. 96 J, bear inscriptions where al-Ma'mūn styles himself al-Imām (or al-Amīr) al-Ma'mūn, Heir Apparent of the Muslims, 'Abdullāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful (i. e. al-Rashid), as in the previous year; but on nos. 96 G, 96 H, and 96 I, he begins to be recognized (probably at his own command) "'Abdullāh (sometimes "the Servant of God", 'Abdullāh) al-Ma'mūn, Commander of the Faithful", i. e. Caliph. Here, along with the presence of the names of his minister and general al-Faḍl and Ṭāhir, there is definite evidence of the break between the brothers. Al-Faḍl's name occurs on all of al-Ma'mūn's coins of Rayy in this year with the exception of the *fals*. (Cf. the discussion under no. 95 above for al-Faḍl (b. Sahl). Likewise, General Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn's name, although omitted from 96 E and 96 F, receives in the issues of this year even greater prominence, we may say, in that his name is on one type (with variations) inscribed in full and in a novel position around the outer margin of the obverse. He calls himself *marwā* (Freedman) of al-Ma'mūn, his master. The presence of his name on the *fals* is, I think, significant, in that it indicates his active supervision of the local currency. It was in this year that the battle of Rayy took place in which 'Alī b. 'Īsā was worsted at the hands of Ṭāhir (Ṭab. III, 797ff.), and that Ṭāhir received the epithet of dhu-al-Yaminayn (Ṭab. III, 829, l. 20—830, l. 8).



## 97A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 196.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	ذوالرئاستين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة ست وتسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no.1388 (with تسعين written ستين ?); Istanbul, no. 577, and one unnumbered; Ties., no.1644 (with three references).

## 97B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 196.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به عبد الله
	المأمون بن امير المؤمنين
	الفضل

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة ست وتسعين ومئة

*Obv. outer margin:* طاهر ○ بن الحسين ○ مولى المأمون ○ ذواليمينين ○

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no.1619 (with three references).

## 97C. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 196.

Obverse as no. 97 B.

Rev.
الله
محمد رسول الله
مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله
المأمون امير المؤمنين
الفضل

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Die jüngsten... etc., no.11, pg.287; Ties., no.1645 (reference to publication of Fraehn; ذواليمينين is inadvertently(?) omitted from the margin); B.M., unpublished, 1906/12/4, no.95; four in Assur Collection, Berlin; ANS.

In this year there is no longer any evidence of the influence of al-Amīn; Rayy is completely al-Ma'mūn's. There appears still to be some question whether al-Ma'mūn will call himself heir apparent or Caliph (cf. nos. 97 B and 97 C), unless indeed the specimens reading "son of the Commander of the Faithful" were wrongly read, which I think is more than likely. For dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn (nos. 97 A), dhu-al-Yamīnayn, Ṭāhir and al-Faḍl (nos. 97 B and 97 C), cf. the notes under nos. 95 and 96 above.

98A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 197.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	ذوالرئاستين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة سبع وتسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 170 (369), pg. 61; da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 855, pg. 35; Markoff, no. 657; Ties., no. 1661 (with two references).

98B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 197.

Obverse as no. 98 A.

Reverse as no. 98 A, but with م beneath the area.

Cairo, no. 576 (it is not indicated whether the form of the letter is م or م).

98C. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 197.

Obverse as no. 98 A.

Reverse as no. 98 A, but with می beneath the area.

Berlin, nos. 1389, 1390; Ties., no. 1663 (with two references).

98D. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 197.

Obverse as no. 98 A.

Reverse as no. 98 A, but with 3 (a sort of half annulet) beneath the area.

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 170 A (XXIV), pg. 105; Markoff, no. 658; Ties., no. 1662 (with three references); two in Assur Collection, Berlin; ANS.

(Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 854, pg. 35, lists another, but the inadequate description does not permit classification here. — Vasmer, loc. cit., speaks of six types, counting variations in annulets as well as auxiliary letters.)

For dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn, cf. no. 95 above.

## 99A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 198.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	ذوالرئاستين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة ثمان وتسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 289v, pg. 56; Fraehn, *Recensio*, no. 284, pg. 10\*\* (*Ties.*, no. 1671); Paris, no. 916; one in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 99B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 198.

Obverse as no. 99 A, but with المشرق  
beneath the area.

Reverse as no. 99 A.

Berlin, no. 1391; two in Assur Collection, Berlin; *Ties.*, no. 1672 (with two references).

## 99C. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 198.

Obverse as no. 99 B.

Reverse as no. 99 A, but with the addition of ح beneath ذوالرئاستين. Lack of illustration makes it impossible to determine the exact form of this letter. It may be similar to no. 99 D below.

Tornberg, no. 273 (*Ties.*, no. 1673).

## 99D. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 198.

Obverse as no. 99 B.

Reverse as no. 99 A, but with the addition of ح beneath ذوالرئاستين.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 99E. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 198.

Obverse as no. 99 B.

Reverse as no. 99 A, but with the addition of مى beneath ذوالرئاستين.

One in Assur Collection, Berlin.

In this year, the 26th of Muḥarram, occurred the death of al-Amin; al-Ma'mūn's Caliphate was established. After the public general recognition of al-Ma'mūn as Caliph, he assigned the government of all the lands conquered by Ṭāhir to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, brother

of Faḍl b. Sahl. This domain included: al-Jibāl, Fārs, al-Ahwāz, al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, al-Ḥijāz and al-Yaman (Tab. III, 975, ll. 10-12). The word *al-Mashriq*, i. e. "the East", which is inscribed on all but one (no. 99 A) of the coins struck at Rayy in this year, doubtless signifies these corporate provinces. In spite of the appointment of al-Ḥasan as governor, his brother's title, *dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn* (cf. no. 95 above), continues to appear on the coinage of the capital of al-Jibāl.

100A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 199.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	ذوالرئاستين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة تسع وتسعين ومئة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Fraehn, Recensio, no.288, pg.11\*\*; four in Assur Collection, Berlin.

100B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 199.

Obverse as no.100 A, but with المشرق  
beneath the area.

Reverse as no.100 A.

Ties., no.1697 (with five references; the Fraehn Recensio reference, however, should not be here).

For *dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn*, cf. no.95 above; *al-Mashriq*, cf. no.99 above.

101A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 200.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	ذوالرئاستين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة مائتين

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no.289y, pg.56; Istanbul, no.578; Ties., no.1706 (with four references); three in Assur Collection, Berlin.

## 101B. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 200.

Obverse as no.101 A, but without a marginal legend.

Rev.

عدل

محمد

رسول

الله

Rev. margin: بسم الله ضرب الفلّس [هذا no sic] بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ مَائَتَيْنِ

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 67, pg. 361 (Ties., no. 2834).

عدل, above the reverse area of the *fals*, no.101 B, is probably meant as "just", i.e. valid currency. For dhū-al-Ri'āsatayn, cf. no. 95 above.

## 102A. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 201.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

الله

محمد

رسول

الله

ذوالرئاستين

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ اِحْدَى وَمِائَتَيْنِ

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 289z, pg. 57; Berlin, nos. 1392, 1393; three in Assur Collection, Berlin; da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 856, pg. 35 (?); Istanbul, no. 579, and three unnumbered; Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici IV, N.C., 1886, pg. 228; Ties., no. 1719 (with eight references); ANS; ANS (another die, annulet variation).

## 102B. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 201.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

محمد

رسول

الله

عدل

Chain border.

Rev. margin: بسم الله ضرب الفلّس [هذا no sic] بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ اِحْدَى وَمِائَتَيْنِ

Berlin, no 2215.

## 102c. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 201.

Obverse as no. 102 B.

Reverse as no. 102 B, but عدل above the area instead of beneath.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 68, pg. 361 (Ties., no. 2835).

For dhu-al-Ri'āsātayn, cf. no. 95 above.

It was, according to the report in Ṭabari, in this year that al-Ma'mūn proclaimed al-Riḍa, descendant of 'Alī and the Prophet, as his heir apparent (cf. the note under no. 103 below). There is also an account of the declaration by the people of Baghdād of their allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi in this year (for which cf. the same note below).

There was a great famine in this year which caused the price of food to go up and resulted in many deaths in Khurāsān, Rayy and Iṣbahān (Ṭab. III, 1015, ll. 13-14).

## 103. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 202.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	المأمون خليفة الله
المشرق	مما امر به الامير الرضا
	ولى عهد المسلمين على بن موسى
	بن علي بن ابي طالب
	ذوالرئاستين

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة اثنتين ومائتين

Obv. outer margin: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله  
(part of Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4).

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. Add. i. no. 289aa, pg. 57; B.M., unpublished, 1906/12/4, no. 92; Markoff, no. 712, pg. 41; Ties., no. 1733 (with one reference); ANS.

(There are in Tiesenhausen only two other coins of this date and type, of other mints, viz.: Samarqand, no. 1730, and Iṣbahān, no. 1731.)

According to Ṭabari, as mentioned above (no. 102), it was in Muḥarram of the year 201 at Marw that al-Ma'mūn designated 'Alī al-Riḍa (the Eighth Imām of the Ithna-'Ashariyah) as the heir to the Caliphate. At the same time he ordered the army to be clothed in the



وفي هذه السنة جعل المأمون على بن موسى بن جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن حسين بن علي بن 'Alid green. أبي طالب رضه ولي عهد المسلمين والخليفة من بعده وسمّاه الرضى من آل محمد صلّم وأمر جنده بطرح (Tab. III, 1012, ll.12-16). The appointment and the genealogy of al-Riḍa is recorded epigraphically on the present coin: Al-Ma'mūn Khalifat-allāh; among what has been commanded by al-Amīr al-Riḍa Wali 'Ahd of the Muslims, 'Ali b. Mūsā b. 'Ali b. abi-Ṭālib; dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn. Historical tradition also preserves the fact that al-Riḍa's name was engraved on the coins. (Mas'ūdi, VII, 60, ll. 4-5, year 200). Among the troubles caused by this appointment was the rising of the population of Baghdād, their renunciation of al-Ma'mūn and their choice of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi as successor (Tab. III, 1013, l.17-1014, l.18). If there were any coins bearing al-Riḍa's name struck in the year 201, none has so far come to light; it is unlikely that any were minted before the issue here of the year 202. Ṭabari reports the proclamation of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi in the year 202 also, in the early days of Muḥarram (Tab. III, 1015, l.19-1016, l.18 and ff.). Al-Ma'mūn consequently moved from Marw toward al-'Irāq (Tab. III, 1025, ll. 11 ff.). The fact that there were two schools of tradition in the matter of these events throws considerable doubt on the exact date; perhaps the 202 issues are the first with the announcement of al-Riḍa's designation, and 202 is the proper date for the event.

For dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn, whose name appears again beneath the long reverse area legend, cf. no. 95 above; and for المشرق, cf. no. 99.

104A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 203.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	المأمون خليفة الله
المشرق	مما أمر به الامير الرضا
	ولي عهد المسلمين على بن موسى
	بن علي بن أبي طالب
	ذو الرئاستين
	م

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ثلث ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1395 (fragmentary legend); Ties., no. 1745 (with five references).

Other similar issues of this year are: Samarqand, (B.M.Add. i, no. 289a, pg. 55; Ties., no. 1743), Işbahān (Ties., no. 1746), Fārs (Paris, no. 913).

104B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 203.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	مما امر به الامام المأمون
	عبد الله امير المؤمنين
	جائز

*Obv. margin:* As inner margin of no. 104 A.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1394.

(جائز = lawful, i. e. certified currency.)

According to the most commonly accepted account, 'Ali al-Riḍa (cf. no. 104 A and no. 103 above) died at Ṭūs and was buried near the tomb of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd toward the end of Ṣafar in this year, 203 (Tab. III, 1029, ll. 19–1030, l. 4; cf. Mas'ūdi, VII, 61, ll. 8–9, end of Ṣafar, 203; Ya'qūbi, II, 550, l. 19, early part of 203; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 248, l. 21, end of Ṣafar, 203; Cl. Huart, in his article in the E. of I., s. v. 'Ali al-Riḍa, appears to accept this date without any question)<sup>1</sup>. This date would, however, seem to be too early when we take into account the issues of the year 204, nos. 105 A and 105 B below (the examination of the question is continued under no. 105).

Ṭabari tells us that the Baghdādīs abandoned their allegiance to Ibrāhīm in this year, and returned to al-Ma'mūn (Tab. III, 1032, ll. 9ff.), Ibrāhīm's "Caliphate" having lasted "one year, eleven months, and twelve days" (Tab. III, 1036, ll. 7–8). Al-Ma'mūn himself, on his way to al-'Irāq, passed through Rayy and deducted 1,000,000 *dirhams* from the taxes (of the province?) (Tab. III, 1030, ll. 11–12); but this was probably the next year, 204, cf. no. 105 below.

For al-Mashriq and dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn, cf. nos. 95 and 99 above.

<sup>1</sup> R. Strothmann (Die Zwölfer-Schī'a, Zwei Religionsgeschichtliche Charakterbilder aus der Mongolenzeit, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 170–171) gives 203, with two specific dates, I, 17 and IX, 24. The circumstances of the death would naturally contribute to obscurity in the tradition.

105A. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 204.*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المشرق

*Rev.*

الله  
محمود رسول الله  
المأمون خليفة الله  
مما امر به الامير الرضا  
ولي عهد المسلمين على بن موسى  
بن علي بن ابي طالب  
ذوالرئاستين

هـ

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة اربع ومائتين*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1756 (with four references).

105B. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 204.

Obverse as no. 105 A.

*Rev.*

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
المأمون خليفة الله  
مما امر به الامير الرضا  
ولي عهد المسلمين  
ذوالرئاستين

هـ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 580.

105C. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 204.*Obv.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*

الله  
محمد  
رسول  
الله

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهِمِ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةِ أَرْبَعٍ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, IV, N.C., 1886, pg. 228 (probably belongs here, one cannot tell); Ties., no. 1757 (with two references).

105D. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 204.

Obverse as no. 105 C.

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

•

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, unnumbered.

105E. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 204.

Obverse as no. 105 C.

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول الله

الخليفة المأمون

•

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Ties., no. 1755 (with two references); three in Assur Collection, Berlin (204 is the last date of al-Muḥammadiyah, and 205 the last date of any mint in the Assur hoard).

There are, to my mind, only two possible explanations for the two issues, nos. 105 A and 105 B, bearing the name of al-Ma'mūn's designated heir, 'Alī al-Riḍa, in the year following the commonly accepted date of his death (at least ten months after his death if we agree to the date, end of Ṣafar, set forth in the note under no. 104 above). One solution would be that the date has been misread. But this solution need not, I think, detain us, for the following reason: there are five specimens of the Rayy issue (four of one die, and one of another with a slightly abbreviated inscription), and besides there is an Iṣbahān issue of the year 204 with similar inscriptions, of which ten specimens are known (Ties., no. 1768, with nine references, and Paris, no. 904). The date could not have been misread so many times. The other explanation, of course, is that we must reject the date of al-Riḍa's death as given in Ṭabari, Ya'qūbi, Mas'ūdī and ibn-al-Athīr, and accept in preference one of the variant reports recorded by ibn-Khallikān. The latter author, in his biography of 'Alī al-Riḍa, writes: *وتوفي في آخر يوم من صفر سنة اثنتين ومائتين وقيل بل توفي خامس ذي الحجة* (Ibn-Khallikān, I, 577, ll. 18-19), i. e. the last day of Ṣafar, 202, or the 5th of dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 203, or the 13th of dhu-al-Qa'dah, 203. The year 202

is certainly out of the question. The dates in dhu-al-Ḥijjah and dhu-al-Qa'dah, 203, however, bring us very close to the year 204, and if we accept the 5th dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 203, as the real date of 'Alī's death, and allow a little more than three weeks for the news to travel from Khurāsān to the capital of al-Jibāl, we can safely assume that the coins, nos. 105 A and 105 B were minted in the early days of the month of Muḥarram, 204; in fact, for all we know, the dies for the first issue of any year may well have been engraved toward the end of the preceding year, and if this were true we would not have to allow so much time for the journey of a messenger from Ṭūs to Rayy. Since there exists a disagreement about the date of 'Alī al-Riḍa's death (and of his birth, cf. Ṭabari, ibn-Khallikān etc.), I am strongly inclined, in the light of these coins of Rayy and Iṣbahān, to propose the acceptance of a date later than the usually acknowledged Ṣafar, 203.

A similar chronological problem arises in connection with the occurrence of the title dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn, i. e. al-Faḍl b. Sahl (cf. no. 95 above), on nos. 105 A and B. Al-Faḍl was murdered in the bath at Sarakhs in 202 or 203: Ṭabari (III, 1027, ll. 9-10), Friday, the 2nd of Sha'bān, 202, يوم الجمعة لليلتين خلتا من شعبان; Mas'ūdi (VII, 61, ll. 3-4), in the year 202; ibn-Khallikān (II, 155, ll. 16-20), Thursday, the 2nd of Sha'bān, 202 or 203; ibn-al-Athīr (VI, 246, l. 9), as Ṭabari; Zetterstéen (E. of I, s. v. al-Faḍl b. Sahl), 202 or 203; Zambaur (Manuel, pg. 6), the 2nd of Sha'bān, 202, after ibn-Khallikān, but without mentioning the choice, 203. Here again there is a diversity in the record of the date of the death of a prominent individual, which causes one to incline toward the trustworthiness of the contemporary documents (i. e. the coins) as against the ambiguous historical tradition. But in this case, even if we do take the latest date of the murder, the 2nd of Sha'bān, 203, we are forced to admit that the dies for 204 were engraved four to five months before the end of the year 203, and this is certainly unlikely. So either the historical tradition is altogether wrong or else the die-engravers continued to use the title dhu-al-Ri'āsatayn more or less as a symbol of the growing independence of the eastern provinces.

Ṭabari reports again in this year, 204, that al-Ma'mūn spent two days at Rayy on his way from Jurjān to al-Nahrawān (Ṭab. III, 1036, l. 20); cf. the note under no. 104 above.

106A. *ʔ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 205.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
<i>Obv. margin:</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس ومائتين	
<i>Rev. margin:</i> Qur'ān, IX, 33.	

Ties., no. 1772 (with two references).

106B. *ʔ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 205.

Obverse as no. 106 A.

Reverse as no. 106 A, but with the addition of • beneath the area.

B.M.i, no. 290; Ties., no. 1773 (with four references).



106c. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 205.

Obverse as no. 106 A.

Reverse as no. 106 A, but with addition of ك (or د) above the area, and ڨ beneath.

Ties., no. 1774 (with two references).

106d. *Æ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 205.

*Obv.*  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*  
عدل  
محمد  
رسول  
الله

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب الفلّس [هذا sic, no ١٥٥] بالمحمّدية سنة خمس ومائتين

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 69, pg. 361 (Ties., no. 2845).

In this year al-Ma'mūn sent Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (cf. no. 95 above and following), who had been occupied in al-Jazīrah and Baghdād as chief of the guard and sub-vizier (?) (معاون السواد), to the East (i. e. Khurāsān) as governor (Ṭab. III, 1039, ll. 15ff.).

107. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year ?

Probably a contemporary forgery with part of [١٥٥] ذوالر on the obverse and the date ١٥٥ بالمحمّدية سنة خمس ومائتين on the reverse of the 150 type. Probably two different dies were used for obverse and reverse; the editor believes the counterfeit is to be assigned to the rule of al-Ma'mūn. (Illustrated, but hardly legible.)

Anderson-Vasmer, no. 199 (410), pg. 72.

108a. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 206.

*Obv.*  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

*Rev.*  
الامام المأمون  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
ذواليمينين

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة ست ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* محمد بن حميد الطاهري

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 1, pg. 77 (cf. Zambaur, Contrib. II, pg. 139; Zambaur's reference to Dorn no. 3 is to be corrected to no. 1); Tiesenhhausen, Mélanges, no. 1, pp. 190-191 (then in Musée de l'Institut oriental de Saint-Petersbourg, attaché au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères).



108b. *Āl-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 206.

Obverse area and inner margin as  
no. 108 A.

Rev.

ذو

محمد

رسول

الله

اليمنين

*Obv. outer margin:* محمد بن حميد ○ الطاهري ○

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

W. Tiesenhausen, Über Zwei in Rußland gemachte kufische Münzfunde, Huber's Numism. Zeitschrift, Bd. III, 1871 (pp. 9–10 of reprint), no. 59.

108c. *Āl-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 206.

Obv.

اسحق

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

بن يحيى

Rev.

ذو

محمد

رسول

الله

اليمنين

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ست ومائتين

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, no. 1396 (fragment); Markoff, no. 3, pg. 98; Nesselman, no. 240; Tornberg, Nov. Symb. III, no. 22, pg. 14.

108d. *Āl-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 206.

Tiesenhausen, in the same publication as that quoted in no. 108 B, speaks of other coins of *al-Muḥammadiyah* of the year 206, with one obverse margin, محمد above the obverse area, and بن يحيى beneath the obverse area, but without further description. If these bore اسحق instead of محمد, they would probably fall in with no. 108 C.

Zambaur has reviewed and discussed at some length the whole difficult question of the attribution of Tāhirid coins (as opposed to 'Abbāsīd coins). His conclusion is, in substance, that only those coins which bear the name or title of one of the Tāhirids should be admitted into the Tāhirid category; others, even though struck in Tāhirid domains, should be classed as 'Abbāsīd. (Zambaur, Contrib. II, pp. 123–142). With this opinion I agree<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A typical case of the unjustifiable attribution of all coins that fall within the Tāhirid geographical-time limit to princes of that "dynasty" is presented by Otto Blau, *Nachlese orientalischer Münzen*, N. Z., Wien, VIII, 1876, pg. 53. For *al-Muḥammadiyah* he has the following "Tāhirid" issues: 206–210 inclusive, 218, 221–223 inclusive, 226–229 inclusive, 233, 234, 238–240 inclusive, 242–251 inclusive,—in other words all the coins which he knew to have been struck at *al-Muḥammadiyah* during this period. Since there are no descriptions of these coins, I have entered them only when I have found no other reference to an issue of the given year.

Coins like no. 108 B and 108 C where the Caliph's name is not mentioned at all, are "revolutionary".

Dhu-al-Yamīnayn, whose name appears on no. 108 A along with the name of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, and on nos. 108 B and 108 C to the exclusion of the Caliph's name, is of course Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, discussed above under no. 95, and who in the year 205 had been named governor of the East (cf. no. 106). Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭāhiri (nos. 108 A, B, and possibly D) is undoubtedly the same person as Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsi. Both Ṭabari and ibn-al-Athīr mention him as al-Ṭāhiri and as al-Ṭūsi but without apparently recognizing the identity. This individual was involved in the affair of al-Amīn's death in 198 (Ṭab. III, 917, l. 21; 922, l. 13; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 200, ll. 19-20); was sent against Bābak in 212 (Ṭab. III, 1099, ll. 3-6), when he built a trench or fortification of some sort (*khandaq*), mentioned in the year 221 (Ṭab. III, 1187, ll. 6-7); was appointed 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir's substitute in Nisābūr (ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 9, l. 13) when 'Abdullāh was assigned to the government of Khurāsān (in 214 according to Ṭab. III, 1102, ll. 3-5; ibn-al-Athīr VI, 292, ll. 13-14; but more probably in 213, cf. E. of I., s. v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir); and was killed in battle with Bābak in Rabī' I, 214 (Ṭab. III, 1101, ll. 9-11; 1233, l. 5). Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd's name is also to be found on a coin of Abrashahr (Nisābūr), year 206 (Tornberg, no. 315a, pg. 309; Zambaur, op. cit., pg. 139, gives the year 206, but on pg. 140 he lists the same reference as 209); and, if simply الطاهري signifies the same person, on a coin of 208 minted in Samarqand (Tiesenhausen, *Mélanges*, pp. 190-191, no. 1). We may safely add him to the list of prefects of Rayy, for the year 206 at least, but his authority obviously was not limited to Rayy alone.

Ishāq b. Yahya, no. 108 C, is probably Ishāq b. Yahya b. Mu'ādh, later military governor at Damascus in 218 (Ṭab. III, 1133, ll. 13-14), chief of the watch (الحرس) in 225 (Ṭab. III, 1303, l. 3; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 367, ll. 20-21) and 229 (Ṭab. III, 1331, ll. 1-2). Zambaur, *Contrib.* II, pg. 139, calls him "le Barmekide(?)", later governor of al-Sind. (?)

Muḥammad b. Yahya on no. 108 D may be the die-engraver's or Tiesenhausen's error.

#### 109A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 207.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة سبع ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Casts in the B. M. from the Dara Collection; Markoff, no. 7, pg. 98.

## 109b. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 207.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
••	الله

Border of 16 annulets.

*Rev. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالحمدية سنة سبع ومائتين

Paris, no.1615 (illustr. Pl. X); Rayy, 1936, CT 78 (date and mint effaced).

## 109c. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 207.

Obverse as no.109 B, but a border of 26 to 30 annulets (several dies). Reverse as no. 109 B.

Berlin, no. 2216 (etwa 30 Ringelchen); ANS (two specimens, approximately 30 annulets); GCM, four specimens (one with 26 annulets; one with 26 ? annulets; two with 27 annulets); Rayy, 1934, RTA 2618 (approx. 26 annulets), Rayy, 1935, RCi 3535 (approx. 30 annulets), Rayy, 1936, RG 7799 (26 annulets, date and mint effaced).

## 109d. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 207.

Obverse as no. 109 B, but with approximately 30 annulets.

Reverse as no.109 B, but with a circular border.

Berlin, no. 2217.

## 109e. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 207.

Obverse as no.109 B, but with approximately 30 annulets, and no •• beneath the area.

Reverse as no. 109 D.

Berlin, no. 2218.

(Two coppers in the B.M. (cop. nos.140, 141) of the type of nos.109 C-E, assigned to the year 209, are, in my opinion, more probably 207. I had the occasion to examine them: on both specimens the digit is not very clear, and in the case of no. 141, سبع can be more easily read than تسع).

In 207, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn died (Ṭab. III, 1063, ll.5ff.), and the government of Khurāsān was assigned to Ṭalhah b. Ṭāhir. وأقام طلحة والياً على خراسان في أيام المأمون (Ṭab. III, 1065, ll.5-6; Zambaur's Manuel, pg. 44, should be corrected: 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir is not governor till 213). A governor of Ṭabaristān, al-Rūyān, and Dunbāwand, Mūsa b. Ḥafṣ, was appointed in this year (Ṭab. III, 1066, ll.9-10).

## 110A. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 208.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان ومائتين

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 2, pg. 129.

## 110B. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 208.

Obverse effaced except for جرير in the exterior margin.

<i>Rev.</i>
الله
محمد رسول
الله المأمون
.....

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. b, 1, pg. 34. (Fragmentary coin.)

## 111A. AR. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 209.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	طلحة

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة تسع ومائتين

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tiesenhausen, Über Zwei in Rußland gemachte Münzfunde (cf. no. 108 B above for full title), no. 61, pg. 10; Markoff, no. 26, pg. 99.

## 111B. Æ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 209.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
∴	الله

*Rev. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الْفَلَسُ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ تِسْعٍ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

Bartholomae à Soret, III, Rev. Num. Belge, 1862, no. 41, pp. 44-45.

This *fals*, which Bartholomae, without reasonable grounds, attributes to Ṭāhir or Ṭalhah, may well be of the 207 type and possibly actually of that year, the *seven* misread *nine*, but as the annulets are not described and the coin is not illustrated, one cannot tell and I am forced to give the coin a separate entry. (For the two *fulūs* in the British Museum, B. M. i, cop. nos. 140, 141, assigned to the year 209, cf. no. 109 above.)

For Ṭalhah (no. 111 A), cf. no. 109 above.

112A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 210.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
••	الله
	طلحة

*Obv. margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمُ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ عَشْرٍ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 7, pp. 130-131; Markoff, no. 30, pg. 99; Collection of Mr. Philip Thornburn; ANS.

112B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 210.

Obverse as no. 112A, but the •• beneath the area is not mentioned, and there is an outer margin with Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Reverse as no. 112A.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 12, pg. 79; Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. 2, a, pg. 35 (two specimens).

For Ṭalhah, cf. no. 109 above.

With this issue, an uninterrupted succession (except for one year, 156) of 68 years, from 143 to the year 210, during which we have one or more specimens of at least one issue for each year at Rayy, comes to an end. Most of the lacunae which henceforth become more and more frequent and of longer duration are inexplicable, but we have already entered the period when Rayy, and indeed most of the lands and cities of the East, led a troubled existence. Rayy particularly was the bone of contention of rival factions and dynasties as well as the unwilling host in later days to successive hordes of invaders.

113A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 218.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله



*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان عشرة ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 290 m, pg. 57; Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, III, N. C., 1885, pg. 330; Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 15, pg. 132; Berlin, unpublished, no. 698/1912.

113B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 218.

Obverse as no. 113 A, but with an ornament  
2 prefixed to the outer marginal legend.

Reverse as no. 113 A.

B. M. i, no. 309.

This is the year of al-Ma'mūn's death (Ṭab. III, 1134, ll. 9 and ff.). The above issues were most probably struck during al-Ma'mūn's reign. He was succeeded by abu-Ishāq al-Mu'taṣim on the 19th of Rajab, -Sunday, not Thursday, as Ṭabari has it (Ṭab. III, 1164, ll. 3-5).

Between the years 210 and 218 there are recorded in the chronicles but not reflected in the numismatics two individuals who were connected with the administration of Rayy: in 210 'Ali b. Hishām was sent against Qumm which had rebelled in dissatisfaction because it had not received treatment similar to that accorded to Rayy by al-Ma'mūn when he passed through in 204 (cf. no. 105 above) (Ṭab. III, 1093; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 282, ll. 8ff.); and Rayy doubtless came under his influence when he occupied the neighbouring province; in 214 he administered al-Jabal, Qumm, Iṣbahān, and Adharbayjān (Ṭab. III, 1102, l. 8; ibn-al-Athīr, VI, 293, ll. 7-8). In the year 218, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Mus'ab was sent against certain parts of the population of al-Jibāl who had joined the Khurrāmiyyah sect (Ṭab. III, 1165, ll. 1-7). Rayy is not mentioned, though Hamadhān and other towns are. He returned, after breaking the movement, to Baghdād in 219 (Ṭab. III, 1166, ll. 14-15). I think Zambaur is mistaken in calling him a governor of Rayy; is he not also mistaken (unless he has knowledge of a very unusual coin) in listing abu-Ishāq al-Mu'taṣim as honorary governor in 213 (Manuel, pg. 44)? Al-Mu'taṣim was in Miṣr in 213 and still in 214; in 216 he went to al-Rūm (Ṭab. III, 1100, 1101, 1104).

Ṭalḥah (cf. no. 109 above) died in 213 (Ṭab. III, 1099, l. 19), and the government of the East passed to 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir.

114. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 221.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المعتصم بالله



*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة احدى وعشرين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M.i, no.310; da Cunha, Pt. 1, no.858, pg. 35 (marked inedited, but not described and probably of this type); Dorn, Cl. XIII, no.19, pg. 80.

115. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 222.

The inscriptions are not described; the coin is attributed to 'Abdullāh the Ṭāhirid, but this attribution does not necessarily mean that 'Abdullāh's name appears on the *dirham*, as it was the practice of the earlier numismatic writers to attribute all coins struck in Ṭāhirid years and Ṭāhirid lands to the appropriate prince of the line, whether the actual name was inscribed on the coin or not. Cf. the note under no.108 above.

Tornberg, Die jüngsten, etc., no. 4, pg. 290; Blau, N.Z., Wien, VIII, pg. 53.

116. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 223.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المعتصم بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة ثلث وعشرين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B.M. Add. i, no. 310 d, pg. 59; Casanova, no. 569, pg. 24; da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 859, pg. 35; Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici, III, N. C., 1885, pg. 330.

117. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 225.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المعتصم بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة خمس وعشرين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 310f., pg. 60; Cairo, no. 581; Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, III, N. C., 1885, pg. 330.

(Leggett lists a *dīnār* of al-Muḥammadiyah, year 225, but for reasons given in a note under no. 26 above, I question its authenticity. See the list of *dīnārs* under no. 122 below.)

118A. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 226.*

Descriptions are lacking, but the specimens are presumably like the issues of the years 218-225, cf. nos. 113-117 above.

J. Allan, *Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate*, N. C., 1919, reprint pg. 4; Tornberg, *Cl. VI*, no. 32, pg. 134 (reverse effaced); N. Siouffi, *Supplément no. 1 au Catalogue de monnaies arabes*, Mossoul, Avril, 1891.

In 220, al-Mu'taṣim sent the famous general al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Ka'ūs to al-Jibāl to make war against the rebellious Bābak (*Ṭab. III*, 1170, l. 17-1171, l. 2 and ff.). I hardly think that Zambaur (*Manuel*, pg. 44) is justified in classing him as a governor of Rayy on this account.

About the year 221, the revenue of Rayy province was approximately 20,200,000 *dirhams* (ibn Khurdādhbih, 244, ll. 14-16; E. Thomas, in *N. C.*, 1873, pg. 249, reports 10,000,000 (?)).

118x. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 227.*

No description.

Blau, *N. Z.*, Wien, VIII, pg. 53; Markoff, no. 72, pg. 100 (listed as Ṭāhirid).

119. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 228.*

Descriptions are lacking. Codrington lists the coin under al-Wāthiq; Soret and Blau class theirs as Ṭāhirid. Presumably the name of al-Wāthiq appears beneath the reverse area. I feel certain that the issue is not any more Ṭāhirid than most of the other coins so classed by numismatists.

Codrington, *N. C.*, 1902, pg. 271; Soret à Fraehn, *St. Pétersbourg*, 1851, pg. 16, no. 35 (no 239 of the collection); Blau, *N. Z.*, Wien, VIII, pg. 53.

Al-Mu'taṣim had died in the year 227, and was succeeded by his son al-Wāthiq bi-allāh (*Ṭab. III*, 1322, ll. 15 and ff.).

120A. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 229.*

Again no description, but probably the usual legends, with *الوائق بالله* beneath the reverse area.

Tornberg, *Cl. VI*, no. 40, pg. 135; Blau, *N. Z.*, Wien, VIII, pg. 53; Markoff, no. 78, pg. 101 (listed as Ṭāhirid).

120x. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 231.*

Description lacking but listed as *Abu-Dulafid*.

Markoff, *Supplement*, no. 2a, pg. 882.

## 121. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 233.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ثلث وثلثين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 25, pg. 81; Tiesenhausen, *Mélanges*, nos. 10-14, pp. 192-193 (one coin).

Al-Wāthiq was assassinated in the year 232 and was succeeded by his brother, al-Mutawakkil 'ala-allāh (Tab. III, 1363, ll. 10ff.).

In 230, the 11th of Rabī' I, 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir (cf. no. 109 and no. 113 above) died at Nisābūr, being then the minister of war and the chief of the *shurṭah* and the *sawād*, as well as governor of Khurāsān and its dependencies and of Rayy and Ṭabaristān and Kirmān. Al-Wāthiq turned over all these offices to 'Abdullāh's son, Ṭāhir. (Tab. III, 1338, l. 15-1339, l. 2.).

## 122A. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 234.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمدية سنة اربع وثلثين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 593; Berlin, unpublished, no. 361/1894; ANS.

## 122B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 234.

Obverse as no. 122 A, but الدرهم.

Reverse as no. 122 A.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 29, pg. 81; Tiesenhausen, *Mélanges*, nos. 10-14, pg. 193 (one coin).

No. 122A is the first gold issue of the Rayy mint. It is of interest to list here the years in which the other provincial capitals began to strike *dinārs*. The following general catalo-

gues were consulted for the specimens cited in the list below: Tiesenhausen (T), British Museum (BM), Paris (P), Berlin (B), Istanbul (I). Earlier specimens from each of the several mints might be known to exist, but I have limited my inquiry to these catalogues; the present list is sufficient to indicate the approximate if not the exact date at which each mint began issuing gold. A supplementary list records the years when other mints not producing *dīnārs* till after 234 began to do so. Madīnat al-Salām is included in the first list since, with the decentralization of the gold minting, the name of the capital begins to appear on its issues.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Mints</i>	<i>Museums</i>
198	Miṣr	T.
199	Miṣr, al-ʿIrāq	T, BM, P.
200	Miṣr	T, BM, P, B.
201	Miṣr, al-ʿIrāq	T, BM, P, B.
202	Miṣr	T, P.
203	Miṣr, al-ʿIrāq	T, BM, P.
204	Miṣr, al-ʿIrāq	T, BM, P.
205	Miṣr	T.
206	Miṣr	T.
209	Miṣr	T, BM, B.
210	Miṣr	T, BM, P.
212	Madīnat al-Salām	T, BM.
214	Miṣr	P, B.
215	Miṣr, Madāʾin (?)	BM, P.
218	Madīnat al-Salām	P.
219	Miṣr, Madīnat al-Salām	BM, B.
220	Miṣr	B.
221	Miṣr, Madīnat al-Salām, Ṣanʿā	BM, P.
223	Miṣr, Ṣanʿā	BM, P, I.
224	Miṣr, Madīnat al-Salām	BM, P, B, I.
225	Dimishq	B, I.
226	Madīnat al-Salām	T, BM.
227	Miṣr, Marw, Madīnat al-Salām, Dimishq	T, BM, P, I.
228	Miṣr, Madīnat al-Salām	BM, P.
229	Miṣr, Madīnat al-Salām	BM, P, B.
230	Madīnat al-Salām	T, I.
231	Miṣr, Dimishq	T, BM, B.
232	Miṣr, Madīnat al-Salām, Ṣanʿā	P, B.
233	Miṣr, Marw	T, BM, I.
234	Miṣr, al-Muhammadiyah, Sarra-man-rāʾa	T, BM, I.

Between 234 and 280, fourteen other mints begin to issue *dīnārs*. The specimens of these mints are much rarer than those of the large mints, or shall we say that the towns which follow are today less accessible, for the most part, than the preceding, and hence so many specimens have not found their way to Europe? Thus we cannot be at all sure that

some of these towns did not begin to mint *dīnārs* several years before the earliest recorded here. *Only the first issue of each town is given.*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Museums</i>
237	Al-Baṣrah	P.
247	Al-Mutawakkiliyah	B, I.
250	Samarqand	T, P.
250	Al-Shāsh	I.
258	Wāsiṭ	P.
263	Al-Mawṣil	I.
266	Al-Kūfah	BM, P.
268	Qazwīn	P.
270	Al-Ahwāz	BM, P, B.
270	Hamadhān	B.
271	Al-Rāfiqah	I.
272	Adharbayjān	P.
275	Jannāba	BM.
276	Māh al-Baṣrah	P.

123. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 237.

(Not described, but undoubtedly as follows:)

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو عبد الله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة سبع وثلثين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 56, pg. 137; Sale of Prof. von Karabaczek Collection, Schulman, Amsterdam, Nov., 1907, pg. 63 (not described, date 237/8).

Abu-'Abdullāh (later the Caliph al-Mu'tazz), whose name is inscribed beneath the obverse area, is mentioned on the coinage for the first time in 236, Madīnat al-Salām (B. M. i, no. 331; Ties., no. 1890; Berlin, no. 1485; Paris, no. 961. The entries in B. M. Add. i for Madīnat al-Salām, 233, Sarra-man-rā'a, 233, al-Baṣrah, 235, and Fārs, 235, have descriptions that would lead one to believe that these coins also bore the name abu-'Abdullāh (B. M. Add. i, no. 329 x, no. 322 z, and no. 322 g, and 329 d, pg. 63). But this is surely due to the abbreviated descriptions which employ cross-references to entries in the first volume of the B. M. catalogue, with the result that a coin is occasionally described as bearing inscriptions similar to a previously described coin when the inscriptions are not exactly

identical<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere I find no specimen of a coin bearing abu-ʿAbdullāh before the year 236. Cf. for example: Tiesenhäusen, Berlin, and Paris, where the first is 236, and Istanbul, where the first is 239).

In dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 235, according to the account in Ṭabari (III, 1394ff.), the Caliph al-Mutawakkil designated his successors. The first of the three sons, Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, was chosen by his father as heir to the throne; before that he was to receive the governorship and revenues of most of the West and the South-East (Ṭab. III, 1395, ll. 6-15). Al-Muʿtazz, the second, received the provinces of Khurāsān and its adjoining dependencies, Ṭabaristān, Rayy, Armenia, Adharbayjān and Fārs (Ṭab. III, 1395, ll. 15-17). To Ibrāhīm al-Muʿaẓẓad, the third, went the *junds* of Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Jordan and Palestine (Ṭab. III, 1395, l. 18-1396, l. 1). In the year 240, Ṭabari reports, al-Mutawakkil added to the lot of al-Muʿtazz the supervision of all the state treasuries and the administration of the coinage, allowing him to place his name on the *dirhams*. *ثم ضم اليه في سنة اربعين حزن* (Ṭab. III, 1395, ll. 17-18). It is clear, however, from the numismatic evidence that al-Muʿtazz (abu-ʿAbdullāh) already had the control of the mint in 236 and 237. Although al-Mutawakkil later favoured al-Muʿtazz to al-Muntaṣir as his successor, the historical tradition is that at first, as stated above, the Caliph designated his elder son, al-Muntaṣir as heir. To judge by the precedent of placing the name of the Wali ʿAhd on the coinage one would assume that from the year 236 on abu-ʿAbdullāh al-Muʿtazz was the chosen one; but again the account preserved in Ṭabari allows us to presume that there had been a change in the convention of allowing the heir apparent the right of inscribing his name on the coinage. In any case, Ṭabari is wrong in giving the year 240. Cf. no. 127 below, year 242, where the title appears instead of the name abu-ʿAbdullāh.

124. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 238.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابوعبد الله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان وثلاثين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qurʾān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qurʾān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 31, pg. 81; Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 60, pg. 138; Berlin, unpublished, 294/1885.

For abu-ʿAbdullāh, cf. no. 123 above.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Walker of the British Museum has informed me that my presumption is correct: the references in B. M. Add. i are misleading.



125. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 239.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو عبد الله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة تسع وثلثين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 68, pg. 139; cf. the ref. to the von Karabaczek specimen, year 237/9, under no. 123 above.

For abu-'Abdullāh cf. no. 123 above.

126. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 240.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	.....
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو عبد الله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة اربعين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, unpublished, no. 294/1885.

For abu-'Abdullāh, cf. no. 123 above.

127. *Ṛ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 242.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
المعتز بالله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة ائتين واربعين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, nos. 34, 35, pp. 81–82; Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. 6, a, pg. 36; Soret à Fraehn, no. 36, pg. 16 (no. 242 of the collection); Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 77, pg. 140; Berlin, unpublished, no. 294/1885.

This issue of the year 242 is the first of the Muḥammadiyah series that bears the title al-Mu'tazz bi-allāh in place of the name abu-'Abdullāh (cf. no. 123 above). The change from abu-'Abdullāh to al-Mu'tazz seems to have taken place in the year 240: e. g., issues of Miṣr, al-Baṣrah and Samarqand of the year 240 bear abu-'Abdullāh (B.M.i, no. 316, Add. i, no. 320g, pg. 62, no. 325t, pg. 63); while another issue of al-Baṣrah in the same year has al-Mu'tazz (B.M.Add. i, no. 322m, pg. 63); and in 241, al-Mu'tazz at Marw (B.M. Add. i, no. 331x, pg. 64), that is, after the year 240, abu-'Abdullāh does not occur. If Ṭabari, in the passage quoted under no. 123 above, means by saying that in 240 al-Mu'tazz was recognized as Wali 'Ahd when al-Mutawakkil authorized him to put his name on the coins, then he would seem to be partly right, i. e. 240 is correct as far as the title al-Mu'tazz (i. e. Wali 'Ahd) is concerned, but abu-'Abdullāh (simply as a son of the Caliph) administered the coinage from the time when al-Mutawakkil divided the responsibilities of the Empire.

128. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 243.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
المعتز بالله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة ثلث واربعين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3–4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 36, pg. 82; Fraehn, Recensio, no. 7, pg. 17\*\*\*; Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 81, pg. 141; Sale of Prof. von Karabaczek Collection, Schulman, Amsterdam, Nov., 1907, pg. 63 (not described); Berlin, unpublished, no. 294/1885.

For al-Mu'tazz, cf. no. 127 above.

129. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 244.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
المعتز بالله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ أَرْبَعٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 87, pg.141.

For al-Mu'tazz, cf. no.127 above.

130A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 245.

*Obv.*

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا

اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ

لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ

الْمُعْتَزُ بِاللَّهِ

*Rev.*

لِلَّهِ

مُحَمَّدٌ

رَسُولُ

اللَّهُ

الْمُتَوَكِّلُ عَلَى اللَّهِ

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ خَمْسٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Casanova, no. 593, pg. 25 (not described); Berlin, unpublished, no. 362/1894.

130B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 245.

Obverse as no.130 A.

*Rev.*

لِلَّهِ

مُحَمَّدٌ

رَسُولُ

•

اللَّهُ

الْمُتَوَكِّلُ عَلَى اللَّهِ

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Small size.

ANS.

130C. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 245.

Obverse as no.130 A, but *الدَّرْهَمُ*.

Reverse as no.130 A.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no.860, pg. 35 (not described); Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici, VII, N. C., 1892, pg.161 (not described); Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 90, pg.141 (the reverse obliterated); Berlin, unpublished, no. 294/1885.

For al-Mu'tazz, see no.127 above.

**130D.** R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 245.Not described, but listed as *Abu-Dulafid*.

Markoff, Supplement, no.12a, pg. 882.

**131A.** R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 246.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
المعترف بالله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة ست واربعين ومائتين*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. 8, a, pg. 36; Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 96, pg. 142; Berlin, unpublished, no. 294/1885.

Cf. no. 127 above for al-Mu'tazz.

**131B.** R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 246.Not described, but listed as *Abu-Dulafid*.

Markoff, Supplement, no.13a, pg. 882.

**132.** R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 247.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
المعترف بالله	الله
	المتوكل على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة سبع واربعين ومائتين*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 102, pg. 143.

This coin was struck sometime within the first nine months of the year, as al-Mutawakkil was murdered and al-Muntaṣir succeeded to the Caliphate the 3rd or 4th of Shawwāl, 247 (Tab. III, 1471, ll. 5-6).

## 133A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 248.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	له
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المستعين بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان واربعين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Casanova, no. 600, pg. 25 (not described); Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 40, pg. 82; Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. aa, 9, pg. 36; Paris, no. 977; Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 106, pg. 143; Berlin, unpublished (two specimens), no. 294/1885.

## 133B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 248.

Not described, but listed as *Abu-Dulafid*.

Markoff, no.15, pg.103.

Al-Muntaṣir who had succeeded to the Caliphate the year before (cf. no. 132 above) died on the 4th or 5th of Rabī' II, 248 (Tab. III, 1495, ll.13-16); he was succeeded by abu-al-'Abbās al-Musta'in on the 6th of Rabī' II (Tab. III, 1501, l.17-1502, l.2). Since the above issue bears the name of al-Musta'in in the position on the reverse area now commonly employed for the mention of the Caliph, we must conclude that the die was engraved sometime after the first three months of the year.

## 134A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 249.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	له
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المستعين بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة تسع واربعين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Dorn, Cl. XIII, no. 42, pg. 82; Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. c, 9, pg. 36; Tornberg, Die jüngsten, etc., no.11, pg.290; Berlin, unpublished, no.294/1885 (digit of date effaced, but probably of this date).

## 134b. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 249.

Not described, but listed as *Abu-Dulafid*.

Markoff, Supplement, no.18a, pg.882.

## 134c. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 249.

Not described, but listed as *Abu-Dulafid*.

Markoff, Supplement, no.18b, pg.882.

There is not, so far as I know, any record of the proclamation of al-Musta'in's son al-Abbās as heir to the Caliphate other than the appearance of his name on the coins; and no coin of any mint that I have seen described, earlier than 249, bears the name.

In this year Rayy was visited by a severe earthquake. (Tab. III, 1515, ll. 3 ff.).

## 135. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 250.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
ابو [sic] العباس بن	المستعين بالله
امير المؤمنين	

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمسين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VI, no. 111, pg. 144.

I suspect that the description of the coin is faulty in two respects: a) that it is العباس and not ابو العباس (cf. no. 134 above); and b) that there is الله above the reverse area as is common on the coins of the period.

In this year, 250, Rayy became the battle ground of the Tāhirids and the 'Alids of Ṭabaristān. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan revolted at Rayy in favour of Zayd, prince of Ṭabaristān. His adversaries were the Khorāsānians. He was captured and turned over to Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Abdullāh. Another 'Alid pretender arose in favour of al-Riḍa, to wit, Aḥmad b. 'Īsa b. 'Ali b. Ḥusayn al-Ṣaghīr b. 'Ali b. Ḥusayn b. 'Ali b. abi-Tālib, who defeated Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Tāhir, then prefect at Rayy, so that the latter took flight to Qazwīn and Baghdād (Tab. III, 1523, ll. 13-1533, l. 3; Mas'ūdi, VII, 344-345; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 88, ll. 8-10). Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Abdullāh was at this time governor of the East, including Rayy. عامل المستعين على خراسان وطبرستان والرئ والمشرق كله (Tab. III, 1526, ll. 15-16). After the 'Alid success, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd united Ṭabaristān and the province of Rayy as far as the boundary of Hamadhān (Tab. III, 1531, ll. 5-10).



## 136A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 251.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المستعين بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة احدى وخمسين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 339; Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. IV, no. 9, a, pg. 37.

## 136B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 251.

Obverse as no. 136 A, but the arrangement of the words on the last two lines, thus:

Reverse as no. 136 A.

العباس بن امير  
المؤمنين

Tornberg, Die jüngsten, etc., no. 12, pg. 290.

The 'Alid-Ṭāhirid difference at Rayy continued (Ṭab. III, 1585, ll. 9ff.), and this entire year is marked by the interminable rupture and disorder within the Caliphate, ending with the abdication of al-Musta'in and the official succession of al-Mu'tazz on the 4th of Muḥarram, 252, according to Ṭabari's account (Ṭab. III, 1645, ll. 12-16), or in dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 251 (cf. Zambaur, Manuel, pg. 4, foot-note 9).

There follows a lacuna of seven years in the preserved specimens of the Rayy mint. During these years the city was in a constant state of turmoil. We need here only to record the names of a few of the personalities who took part in the confused events. In 252, 'Abd-al-'Azīz b. abi-Dulaf (second of the Dulafid "dynasty") was appointed governor of al-Jabal, of which he was already in a sense the master (Ṭab. III, 1685, ll. 13-14)<sup>1</sup>. Under the year 252, Ṭabari reports that when the Ṭāhirids at Rayy fled from the 'Alids, they were forced to pay 2,000,000 *dirhams* to the latter (Ṭab. III, 1686, ll. 1-4; cf. Schwarz, pg. 758, where the year 253 for the event is an error). In 253, the Caliph's famous general, Mūsā b. Bugha al-Kabīr, was given the administration of al-Jabal (Ṭab. III, 1686, ll. 12-13). Ibn-

<sup>1</sup> The chronicles give us poor support for the "Abu-Dulafid" issues of Rayy in the years 231, 245, 246, 248, 249 and 258 (nos. 120 X, 130 D, 131 B, 133 B, 134 B, C, above, and no. 136 X, below), all of which are listed in Markoff's Inventory but none of which are described. There is no evidence in Ṭabari that 'Abd-al-'Azīz, the abu-Dulafid, was in a position to issue these coins during the years in question. If they are genuinely abu-Dulafid there is a complex history involving Rayy which seems to be preserved only in these unique specimens at the Hermitage. My suspicion is that they are not abu-Dulafid.

Isfandiyār (ed. Browne, pg. 178) reports the occupation of Rayy territories by Ḥasan b. Zayd's followers after Rabi' I, in 254. The 'Alid again took possession of the city of Rayy in Ramaḍān, 256 (Ṭab. III, 1840, ll.3-4). The following month, the 11th of Shawwāl, Mūsa b. Bugha set out from Samarra for Rayy, having taken leave of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (Ṭab. III, 1840, ll.5-6), who had succeeded to the Caliphate in Rajab of this year. In the year 260, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth (cf. no. 137 below) retired from Ṭabaristān to the confines of Rayy by way of Qūmis (Ṭab. III, 1885, ll.14-17; cf. ibn-Isfandiyār, pg. 182, — in the month of Urdī-Bihisht). The general Mūsa b. Bugha had appointed al-Ṣalāni (or al-Ṣalābi) to the prefecture of Rayy in 259 (Ṭab. III, 1880, ll.8-9); this individual treated with Ya'qūb when he arrived in 260 (Ṭab. III, 1885, l.17-1886, l.2; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 185, l.7), and, while still prefect of Rayy, died in 262 (Ṭab. III, 1907, l.9; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 211, ll. 18-19).

**136x. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 258.**

Not described, but listed as *Abu-Dulaḥid*.

Markoff, no. 23, pg. 103.

**137. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 262.**

Not described in full, but probably as follows:

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
يعقوب	الله
	المعتمد على الله
	مر

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اثنيتين وستين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Cl. VII, no. 8, pg. 148.

Tornberg transcribes "جعقوب (Ja'qub)", but this is surely a misreading for يعقوب Ya'qūb. His specimen of al-Shāsh, 261, is transcribed يعقوب (Tornberg, Cl. VII, no. 6, pg. 148).

The Caliph al-Mu'tamid had succeeded on the 17th of Rajab, 256 (Ṭab. III, 1839, ll. 6-7). In 262, he offered the governorship of Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Rayy and Fārs, and the generalship of the guard of Baghdād to Ya'qūb b. al-Layth, whose name appears on the obverse area of the present issue (Ṭab. III, 1892, ll.3-4). Ya'qūb's rise (Sijistān, 253; Kirmān shortly afterwards; Balkh, Kābul, etc., 256; attempt on Fārs and

governorship of Balkh, Ṭukharistān and Sind, 257; Nisābūr and Khurāsān, 259; and cf. note under no. 136 above; death in 265) is summarized in the E. of I., s. v. Ṣaffārīds, cf. the references there. The present coin is the only Ṣaffārīd issue of Rayy.

On the death of al-Ṣalāni (or al-Ṣalābi, cf. no. 136 above), Kaighaligh (?) (کیغلیغ) became the Rayy prefect (Ṭab. III, 1907, 1.9; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 211, ll.18-19).

138. *Ṙ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 265.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
الموفق بالله	الله
	المعتمد على الله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة خمس وستين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Double struck.

B. M. i, no. 373.

Al-Muwaffaq bi-allāh (beneath the obverse) is abu-Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, brother of al-Mu'tamid, heir to the throne, but he never succeeded to the Caliphate. I have not been able to find the date of his proclamation as Wali 'Ahd. The earliest numismatic evidence is 262, a *dirham* struck in that year at Madīnat al-Salām (Ties., no.2011) with الموفق بالله, and this is supported by a passage in ibn-Khallikān, s. v. Ya'qūb b. al-Layth (III, 363, ll. 6-26), where it is mentioned that al-Muwaffaq was heir apparent in 262, when he was sent against Ya'qūb.

Ten years elapse before the next specimen of the Rayy mint. Meanwhile, in Ṣafar, 266, the Turkish general Asātekīn took Rayy forcing out the prefect Ṭalmajūr (طلمجور); he, Asātekīn, and his son, Adhkūtekīn, pushed on to Qazwīn (where Abrūn, the brother of Kaighaligh (cf. no. 137 above) was in control), took that city, and then returned to Rayy and occupied it (Ṭab. III, 1936, ll.10-14). Later, in Jumāda I, 272, Adhkūtekīn, leaving Qazwīn, defeated Muḥammad b. Zayd, the 'Alid, in a terrible battle near Rayy, the Turk then entering Rayy, where he took 100,000,000 *dīnārs* (!) from the people (ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 293, ll.8-16; cf. ibn-Isfandiyyār, pp.189-190).

139. *Ṙ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 275.

Unfortunately undescribed. As it is listed simply under al-Mu'tamid, it probably bears the usual inscriptions.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, IV, N. C., 1886, pg. 228.

In 275 Rāfi' b. Harthamah occupied Jurjān and then came down to Rayy which he took over till Rajab, 276, when al-Muwaffaq died (ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 303, ll.5-22; but cf. no.140 below, al-Muwaffaq's death not in 276, but 278). Yāqūt reports that it was about this time that the Shī'ite sect began to make serious inroads on the population of Rayy. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Māridāni, formerly in the service of Adhkūtekīn, was the strong arm behind the propaganda, and had, according to Yāqūt, taken Rayy in the year 275.

وكان اهل الرى اهل سنة وجماعة الى ان تغلب احمد بن الحسن الماردانى عليها فظهر التشيع واكرم اهله وقربهم اليه الناس بتصنيف الكتب فى ذلك ... وكان ذلك فى ايام المعتمد وتغلب عليها فى سنة ٢٧٥ وكان قبل ذلك فى خدمة كوتكين بن ساتكين<sup>١</sup> التركى وتغلب على الرى وظهر التشيع بها واستمر الى الآن. (Yāqūt, II, 901, ll.2-7). I have not been able to find any reference to this Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan in the chronicles of Ṭabari and ibn-al-Athīr.

140. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 276.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	له
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
الناصر لدين	الله
الموفق بالله	المعتمد على الله
	احمد بن الموفق بالله

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ست وسبعين ومائتين

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 64, pp. 358-359 (illustr., Pl. XIV, fig. 11) (Ties., no. 2085).

Bartholomae's transcription of the phrase ranged at the sides of, and above, the reverse area (القوة لله جميعاً) is faulty, although the illustration and translation, "la puissance est à Dieu entièrement", are correct. He has القوق لله جميعاً. The editor called attention to two quite similar *dirhams*: these are, — a) R, Madīnat-al-Salām, year 274, with the words القوة جميعاً right and left on the obverse, and الله القوة, right and left on the reverse; and b) R, Wāsīt, year 277, with القوة لله جميعاً, right, top and left on both obverse and reverse. (Tornberg, Cl. II, no. 422, pg.100 and no. 430, pg.102). Another is al-Kūfah, 276 (B.M. i, no. 357).

Al-Nāṣir li-dīn (beneath the obverse) is another of al-Muwaffaq's titles. His son Aḥmad's name first begins to appear on the coinage along with the names of al-Mu'tamid

<sup>1</sup> Variant of اذكوتكين بن اساتكين.

and al-Muwaffaq in 272 (Rāfiqah, B. M. Add. i, no. 352n). During the last two years of al-Muwaffaq's life (al-Muwaffaq virtually controlled the Caliphate during the weak al-Mu'tamid's reign), Aḥmad, later al-Mu'taḍid, was in turn the real ruler (cf. Zetterstéen, E. of I., s. v. al-Mu'taḍid). Al-Muwaffaq died the 22nd of Šafar, 278 (Ṭab. III, 2123, ll. 3-5), and the Caliph was then forced to recognize Aḥmad as heir apparent, in fact as co-regent.

In the year 278, Rāfi' b. Harthamah (cf. no. 139 above) rebuilt al-Mahdi's mosque, originally constructed in 158. The building had at an earlier date been converted into a prison and then fallen into disrepair. After Rāfi's departure from the city, the people of Rayy destroyed the restored building (Yāqūt, II, 895, ll. 13-22). He is also reported to have restored the fortress of Farrukhān at Rayy (Hamadhāni, 269, ll. 8-12), but this may be a confusion with the mosque. Rāfi' had had his troubles with Muḥammad b. Zayd (cf. no. 138 above) in the same year (cf. ibn-Isfandiyār, pp. 191-192), and in 279, he was removed from the government of Khurāsān by the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (succeeded 20th of Rajab, 279), and forced to flee from Rayy, whence he went eastward and was eventually assassinated in Khwārizm in 283 (Ṭab. III, 2135, ll. 3-6; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 317, l. 16-319, l. 17).

In 281, al-Mu'taḍid appointed his son 'Alī to the government of Rayy, Qazwin, Zanjān, Abhar, Qumm, Hamadhān and Dīnawar, with Aḥmad b. abi-al-Aṣḥagh as his secretary and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Amr al-Našrāni over the administration of the military expenditures and the crown lands of Rayy (Ṭab. III, 2140, ll. 15-17).

141. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 284.

Not described.

Casanova, no. 669, pg. 28.

142. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 288.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المعتضد بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ثمان وثمانين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, no. 1057.

143. *AR.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 289.

Not described.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 861, pg. 35.

When the year 289 began, Rayy was in the hands of the Turkish general, Ügurtmish (Ṭab.: أوكرتمش; ibn-al-Athīr: اوكرمش; الدتمش; Zambaur: Iltutmysh). In Rajab he and his



sons were driven out by Muḥammad b. Hārūn, the rebellious general of Ismā'īl the Sāmānid, who proceeded to occupy Rayy for himself (Ṭab. III, 2208, 1.14-2209, 1.2; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 357, 11.8-16). Somewhat later in the same year Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad himself entered the city, putting Muḥammad b. Hārūn to flight (Ṭab. III, 2220, 1.16-2221, 1.3; ibn-al-Athīr, VII, 361, 11.9-11). — On the 22nd of Rabī' II, al-Muktafi, who had been honorary governor of Rayy and the middle east (cf. no. 140 above, mentioned by his personal name 'Ali), succeeded to the Caliphate (Ṭab. III, 2207, 11.12ff.; the 8th of Jumāda I is also given as the date). At the end of dhu-al-Qa'dah of the same year Khāqān al-Mufliḥi was assigned the office of chief of police at Rayy with 5000 men under his command (Ṭab. III, 2217, 11.1-2).

144A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 292.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
••	الله
	المكتفى بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة اثنتين وتسعين ومائتين

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 394e, pg. 73.

144B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 292.

Obverse probably as no. 144 A, but الدرهم.

Reverse probably as no. 144 A.

Not described.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 862, pg. 35; Porter, N. C., 1921, pg. 325 (cf. Zambaur, N. Z., Wien, 1922, pg. 9).

Rayy was now ruled by a Sāmānid governor. In Muḥarram of the year 290, al-Muktafi had sent a messenger to Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad announcing to him his investiture as governor of Rayy (Ṭab. III, 2221, 11.10-12).

145. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 294.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	المكتفى بالله



*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ أَرْبَعٍ وَتِسْعِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

The one specimen of the coin which I have seen (ANS) is characterized by decadent Kufic letters.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 863, pg. 35 (not described); Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, IV, N. C., 1886, pg. 229; ANS.

146A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 295.

Not described.

Leggett.

146B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 295.

Not described, but most probably as no. 145 above.

Porter, N. C., 1921, pg. 325 (cf. Zambaur, N. Z., Wien, 1922, pg. 9).

In this year occurred the death of Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid (cf. no. 144 above), on the 14th of Ṣafar (Ṭab. III, 2279, ll. 6-7). The 12th of dhū-al-Qa'dah, in the same year, al-Muktafi died and the Caliphate passed to al-Muqtadir bi-allāh (Ṭab. III, 2280, ll. 11 ff.).

147. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 296.

Not described. Al-Muqtadir.

Da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 864, pg. 35.

148. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 298.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا	لِلَّهِ
اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ	مُحَمَّدٌ
لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ	رَسُولٌ
أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ بْنِ	اللَّهُ
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ	الْمُقْتَدِرِ بِاللَّهِ

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ ثَمَانٍ وَتِسْعِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

J. Allan, N.C., 1919, pg. 5 of the reprint (not described); da Cunha, Pt. 1, no. 865, pg. 35 (not described); B. M., unpublished (?) 1905/10/12, no. 38 (probably the coin listed by Mr. Allan?).

Abu-al-Abbās b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn is Aḥmad al-Rāḍī b. al-Muqtadir, the heir apparent, who later succeeded to the throne in 322. He was only one year of age in this year 298, having been born in Rabī' II, 297 (cf. E. of I., s. v. al-Rāḍī). I find no mention of al-Rāḍī's birth in Ṭabari or ibn-al-Athīr, but it is to be noted that in 301 his age is given as four years when he was invested with a robe of honour and given the province of Egypt to govern (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 57, ll. 4-7).

## V. THE SĀMĀNID PERIOD

The year 298 is the first in which I find any reference to Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ṣa'fūk, vassal of the Sāmānid prince Aḥmad at Rayy. He was, I gather, already at Rayy in this year and was made governor of Ṭabaristān as well by the Sāmānid (ibn-Isfandiyār, pg. 199). For the further history of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, see nos. 150 and following below<sup>1</sup>.

### 149. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 301.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة احدى وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, unpublished, no. 1206/1912.

For abu-al-'Abbās, the Wali 'Ahd, cf. no. 148 above.

In this year, 'Alī, another son of al-Muqtadir, was honoured by being given the (nominal) governorship of Rayy, along with Damāwand (Dīnāwand, sic.), Qazwīn, Zanjān and Abhar (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 57, ll. 7-8). The Sāmānid, Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad, lord of Khurāsān and Transoxiana, was killed in Jumāda II, and was succeeded by his son Naṣr b. Aḥmad (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 58, ll. 1-16).

### 150. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 302.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله
	محمد بن علي

<sup>1</sup> 'Arīb, Ṭabari's continuator, says under the year 302 that Ṣa'fūk governed Rayy in the days of Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, i. e. before 301. He calls the governor Aḥmad b. Ṣa'fūk, no doubt by mistake. ('Arīb b. Sa'd, Ṣillat Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1897, 51, ll. 1ff.).

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة اثنتين وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 416.

For abu-al-'Abbās, cf. no. 148 above. The personage named beneath the mention of the Caliph on the reverse area is Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ṣa'īk, governor of Rayy for Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid. He had occupied Rayy "during the days of the Vizierate of 'Alī b. 'Īsa" (301-304) *وكان صعلوك قد تغلب على الرئ وما يليها أيام وزارة علي بن عيسى* (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 74, ll.2ff.), or perhaps as early as 298 (cf. the note and authority quoted under no. 148 above). He was at Rayy, with interruptions, till 314 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 121, ll.18-20). In this year, 302, Muḥammad b. 'Alī marched with his army from Rayy against al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Utrūsh, the 'Alid rebel from Ṭabaristān, but was defeated and forced to return to Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 64, ll.10ff.; Ṭab., III, 2292, ll.1-5; but cf. ibn-Isfandiyyār, pg. 200, where the same event is reported as of the year 301, in the month of Jumāda II. The rebel was also known as Nāṣir-i-Kabīr. Muḥammad b. 'Alī returned to Rayy from Jālūs,—ibn-al-Athīr: شالوس for سالوس, today Chālūs —, by way of Amul, Mālīka Dasht, Sāri and Gūrgān). Zambaur (Contrib. I, no. 35, pp. 59-61), in a careful note on the coins of this period, points out that in the issue of the year 302 Muḥammad b. 'Alī does not appear as a Sāmānid governor but rather as a prefect of the Caliph; this may be so, but I question whether the omission of the Sāmānid's name need imply this state of affairs. There is plenty of historical evidence of the extension of the Sāmānid power toward the West in the last quarter of the 3rd Century, but it is not till 293 that the Sāmānid overlords began to strike coins with their names at any cities west of Samarqand, al-Shāsh and Balkh, and then only sporadically at Nīsābūr and Andarābah. Genuine Sāmānid coinage is not minted at al-Muḥammadiyah before 314 (or perhaps 313, cf. no. 157 B), although Sāmānid power had been operative there more than a decade before.

151. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 303.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ثلث وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. i, no. 417.

Note the omission of the name of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ṣa‘lūk, the Sāmānid governor. There is no record in the chronicles of Rayy’s having been reoccupied by the central ‘Abbāsīd authorities, but this would seem to have been the case, if we are to judge by the numismatic evidence. For abu-al-‘Abbās, cf. no.148 above.

Most unfortunate is the lacuna of four years which now follows till the next known issue of the Rayy mint. At this point the semi-independent Sājids of Adharbayjān actively enter on the Rayy stage. (Cf. the article *Sājids* in the E. of I. with the sources quoted there, and especially the monograph by Defrémery in the J. A., Sér. 4, Tome IX, pp. 409ff., and Tome X, pp.396ff.: “Mémoire sur la famille des Sadjides”, in which the Armenian as well as the Arabic sources are drawn upon.) I do not intend here to go into the history of this interesting family of warriors, but shall record the events which have some bearing on the Rayy coinage. No Rayy coins of the years 304, 305, 306, or 307 having come to light, numismatic evidence is lacking for these several events and offices:

In the year 304, abu-al-Qāsim Ja‘far b. al-Nāṣir, the ‘Alid of Ṭabaristān, was estranged from his brother ‘Alī b. al-Nāṣir (for reasons which do not concern us here), and sought the aid of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī at Rayy, promising to adopt the black colour of the ‘Abbāsīds, to coin money in the name of the Sāmānid rulers of Khurāsān and to insert the Sāmānid lord’s name in the *khutbah* (ibn-Isfandiyār, pp. 204–205). There was a brief occupation of Rayy in the same year by Yūsuf b. abi-al-Sāj while Ṣa‘lūk was governor of the city (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 74, ll.8–9). In 305 or 306 Rayy was again entered by Yūsuf, who defeated the ‘Abbāsīd government troops led by the general Khāqān al-Mufliḥi (cf. note under no. 143 above) (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 74, ll.19–23). The Caliph then sent his general Mūnis against Yūsuf, who was forced to leave Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 75, ll.9–10), and after his departure the Caliph appointed Waṣīf al-Begtimuri governor of Rayy, Qazwīn and Abhar (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 75, ll.10–11). The following year, in 307, Rayy was occupied by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ṣa‘lūk, brother of Muḥammad (cf. no.150 above and no.152 below), marching from the neighbouring Qumm; against him were sent Naḥrīr al-Ṣaghīr (prefect of Hamadhān) and Waṣīf, who were defeated before the gates of Rayy by Aḥmad who then took over the government of the city (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 76, l.21–77, l.8). The picture is further complicated by the official (but probably honorary) appointment of ‘Alī b. Wahsūdān to the governorship of Rayy, along with Damāwand, Qazwīn, Abhar and Zanjān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 76, ll.6–8; this was after Muḥarram, 307, ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 76, l.1).

152. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 308.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	له
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله
	احمد بن علي

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةَ ثَمَانٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no. 35, pp. 59-61; Berlin, unpublished, no. 240/1882<sup>1</sup>; Paris, unpublished.

For abu-al-Abbās, cf. no. 148 above. Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Ṣa'īlūk), whose name appears beneath the reverse, has already been mentioned in the note under no. 151 above, recording how he took Rayy in 307. It is satisfying to have numismatic testimony to this event in the year 308.

153. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 309.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله
	احمد بن علي

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةَ تِسْعٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 632 and two unnumbered; B.M., unpublished, 1915/1/8, no. 136; Paris, unpublished.

For abu-al-Abbās, cf. no. 148 above. Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Ṣa'īlūk) was still in control of Rayy, cf. no. 152 and the note under no. 151 above. Ismā'īl Ghālīb appended to the specimen published in the Istanbul catalogue a note in which he correctly identified Aḥmad and Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ṣa'īlūk. His reference to B.M.Add.i should be pg. 180 and not pg. 18.

154A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 310.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
ابو العباس بن	المقتدر بالله
امير المؤمنين	احمد بن علي

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by A. Erman in Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin, 1884, pg. 66.



*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمّدية سنة عشر وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

(My notes fail to show whether رسول الله is written on one or two lines. This and other inedited coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale will be officially and technically published by M. Cotteville-Giraudet. May I again acknowledge here my indebtedness to him for allowing me to make advance use of the information which the unpublished coins at Paris provides. My notes on these coins were taken solely for the historical matter contained in their inscriptions, and the numismatic details may not always be exact.)

154b. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 310.

Obverse as no. 154 A, but الدرهم.

*Rev.*

.....  
.....  
.....

[المقتدر بالله]  
[احمد بن علي]

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Fragmentary coin (Tornberg).

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. VI, no. 212, b, pg. 239 (not described, but with Ahmad b. 'Ali); Tornberg, Cl. II, no. 481, pg. 110.

No. 154 B is most probably the coin to which Zambaur refers with a note that he had misplaced the citation (Zambaur, Contrib. I, pg. 60).

For abu-al-'Abbās, cf. no. 148; Ahmad b. 'Ali, no. 152, and the note under no. 151 above. In this year Yūsuf b. abi-al-Sāj was released from prison in Baghdād and the Caliph invested him with the government of Rayy, Qazwīn, Abhar, Zanjān and Adharbayjān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 99, 1.23-100, 1.3). Yūsuf set out for Adharbayjān in Jumāda II, 310 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 100, 1.7).

155a. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 311.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

ابو العباس بن

امير المؤمنين

*Rev.*

الله

محمد

رسول الله

المقتدر بالله

احمد بن علي



*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمّدية سنة احدى عشرة وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

155b. *ʔ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 311.

Obverse as no.155 A, but الدرهم.

*Rev.*

لله

محمد

رسول الله

المقتدر بالله

احمد بن علي

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Codrington, N. C., 1902, pg. 272 (illustr. Pl. XII, no. 10).

155c. *ʔ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 311.

The coin unfortunately is not fully described, but beneath the obverse area is inscribed الوائق [sic] ابو الحسن, and beneath the reverse area, يوسف بن ديوداد. It is not mentioned whether the Caliph's name is present or absent.

Porter, N. C., 1921, pg. 326 (cf. Zambaur, N. Z., Wien, 1922, pp. 11-12).

Disturbing events are reflected in the three issues of Rayy in this year 311. Nos.155 A and 155 B were struck by Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ṣa'lūk (cf. nos. 152-154 and the note under no. 151 above) before he lost the city and his own head; no.155 C, after his adversary, Yūsuf b. Dīwdād, abi-al-Sāj (cf. the note under no.151 above), had again become the master of Rayy. The coins are testimony to the accuracy of the chronicles, where we learn that at the end of dhu-al-Qa'dah, 311, Yūsuf attacked Rayy, defeated and killed Aḥmad b. 'Alī, and sent his head to Baghdād. The victor entered the city in dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 311 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 105, 1.14-106, 1.4); hence the *dirham*, no.155 C, must have been minted during the last month of the year.

Al-Wāthiq abu-al-Ḥasan (beneath the obverse area of no.155C) is surely a misreading for *al-Wazīr* abu-al-Ḥasan. This is abu-al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt, discussed below under no.156. He took up the duties of the Vizierate in Rabī' II of this year (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 101, ll.9ff.).

156A. *ʔ.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 312.

Yūsuf b. Dīwdād.

Markoff, no. 7, pg. 303 (not described, but simply listed under Yūsuf b. Dīwdād; no. 8 on the same page is, according to Markoff, the same as no. 7, but has د beneath the reverse area, which causes me to suspect strongly that it is not the same, but like no.156D, i. e. an official coin of the Caliphate).

156b. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 312.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	المقتدر بالله
ابو العباس	يوسف بن ديوداد
الوزير ابو الحسن	
<i>Obv. inner margin:</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اثني عشرة وثلاثمائة	
<i>Obv. outer margin:</i> Qur'ān, XXX, 3—4.	
<i>Rev. margin:</i> Qur'ān, IX, 33.	

Paris, unpublished.

156c. *A.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 312.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله
<i>Obv. inner margin:</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة اثني عشرة وثلاثمائة	
<i>Obv. outer margin:</i> Qur'ān, XXX, 3—4.	
<i>Rev. margin:</i> Qur'ān, IX, 33.	

Paris, no.1132; Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn; Istanbul, two unnumbered.

156d. *A.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 312.

Obverse as no.156 C.

Reverse as no.156 C, but with د (Naskhi) beneath the area.

B. M. Add. i no.418a, pg. 76; Berlin, no.1651; Berlin, unpublished, no.135/1935, Gotha; Cairo, no.651; Casanova, no.719, pg. 29 (not described); Istanbul, unnumbered and mis-assigned to year 311; ANS.

156e. *A.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 312.

Obverse as no.156 C, but the و is omitted before ثلاثمائة in the marginal legend.

Reverse as no.156 D.

B. M. i, no.418.

156f. *R.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 31X.

Obverse as no.156 C, but الدرهم.

Reverse as no.156 C.

Double-struck.

The digit is effaced, but I believe 312 is the only year in which this *dirham* could have been struck.

ANS.

Nos. 156 A and B are critical coins in the numismatic history of Rayy at this period. The fact that the Hermitage coins were not described but only listed in Markoff's inventory, caused Zambaur to consider them more probably issues of the Caliph than of the Sājid (Zambaur, Contrib. II, pp. 151-2, foot-note 71), and hence to record in his Manuel, pg. 45, 'Abbāsīd domination at Rayy in 312, which is only partly correct. The Paris specimen establishes the fact that Yūsuf's name actually does appear (Yūsuf b. Dīwdād beneath the reverse area of no. 156 B), and furthermore the presence of the name of the Wazīr abu-al-Ḥasan (cf. no. 155 C and note above) beneath that of the Wali 'Ahd abu-al-'Abbās, proves that Yūsuf's issue can be dated within the first three months of the year 312. Abu-al-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt, indubitably the Wazīr abu-al-Ḥasan on the coin, was named vizier for the third time (he had held the Vizierate twice before, 296-299, 304-306, cf. Mas'ūdi, VIII, pp. 272-3) in Rabī' II, 311 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 101, ll. 9ff.) and was imprisoned the 8th of Rabī' I, 1312 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 109, ll. 10ff.), his successor abu-al-Qāsim al-Khāqāni taking over on the 9th (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 110, l. 18). Thus, if we allow three weeks to elapse between the event and the news of it reaching Rayy, we can be fairly certain that the coin in question was not minted later than say the end of Rabī I.

Nos. 156 C, D, E and F are conventional 'Abbāsīd coins with the names of the Caliph al-Muqtadir and the Wali 'Ahd abu-al-'Abbās, and as such, I believe, disclose a small error in ibn-al-Athīr. He writes that Yūsuf b. abi-al-Sāj left Rayy and went to Hamadhān at the beginning of the year 313, leaving in his place his "ghulām", Muflīḥ. After he left, Muflīḥ seems to have antagonized the people he was empowered to govern, with the result that he abandoned the post and joined Yūsuf, who then came back to Rayy in Jumāda II, 313 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 105, l. 14-106, l. 4). It is not likely that if Yūsuf were still in the city he would omit his own name from the later issues of the year 312, when he had already minted, before Rabī' II, a *dīnār* with his name. The probability is that Yūsuf left for Hamadhān in 312 (not in 313 as ibn-al-Athīr has it), soon after the minting of nos. 156 A and B; and that during the ensuing eight or nine months the dissatisfaction of the population with the lieutenant left over them resulted either in the flight of this lieutenant Muflīḥ, or the disregard of the Sājid sovereignty on the part of the director of the mint.

157A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 313.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
ابو العباس بن	الله
امير المؤمنين	المقتدر بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ثلث عشرة وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, II, N. C., 1885, pg. 230; ANS.

157B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 313.

Not described but listed as *Sāmānid*.

Markoff, Supplement, no. 486a, pg. 923.

Either no.157 A was struck before Jumāda II, when, according to ibn-al-Athīr, Yūsuf came back to Rayy (cf. the note under no.156 above), or else, — which is most likely — he never really reestablished his authority at Rayy. No.157 B is a problem-coin. If the date is correctly read and the name of the Sāmānid ruler is present, the Sāmānid occupation of Rayy is to be placed some time in the course of the year 313, although 'Abbāsīd confirmation may not have taken place until 314 as ibn-al-Athīr has it (cf. the note under no.158 below).

158. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 314.

*Obv.*

•  
لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

○

*Rev.*

له

محمد

رسول الله

المقتدر بالله

نصر بن احمد

ح.ج.

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة اربع عشرة وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, no. 802; Paris, two unpublished.

This issue is in agreement with the historians who relate that Yūsuf b. abi-al-Sāj went to Wāsiṭ and Baghdād in this year (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 118, ll.9ff.); in the following year he was assassinated. Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the Sāmānid, whose name appears on the above coin, was confirmed by al-Muqtadir in the government of Rayy, which he took over in Jumāda II, 314 (no.157 B suggests that he may have occupied the city the year before); Naṣr at first put Simjūr al-Dawāti over the city as his prefect, then Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ṣa'lūk (cf. the note under no.150 above), and he himself went back to Bukhāra (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 121, ll. 10-20). Muḥammad b. 'Alī remained until 316 (see below). I do not know what Zambaur's authority is for his entry in the Manuel (pg. 45) stating that Muḥammad b. 'Alī (i.) Ṣa'lūk,

was Naṣr b. Aḥmad's governor at Rayy in 314, and that he "rend la ville aux Alides". In support he cites the B.M. coin (cf. no.159 A below) and coins in the Hermitage (cf. the note after no.159 C below); but these are all dated 315. I believe the date as given in the Manuel is a slip.

159A. A/. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 315.

Obv.	Rev.
☼	لله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	المقتدر بالله
محمد بن علي	نصر بن احمد (Naskhi?)

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة خمسة عشر [sic] وثلاثمائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no.293p, pg.180.

159B. A/. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 315.

Obverse as no. 159 A, but no. ☼ above the area; beneath محمد بن علي, the word حر.

Reverse as no. 159 A.

Stickel, ZDMG, 1856, pg. 297 (Tiesenhausen, Mélanges, no. 5, pg. 196); Paris, unpublished.

Stickel interpreted حر as حيز for جائز "current", or خير, "good"; on the Paris specimen I noted حرب.

159C. A/. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 315.

Obverse as no.159 A, but without ☼, beneath محمد, a pellet.

Reverse as no. 159 A, but first line: دلله.

Istanbul, unnumbered.

There are in addition the following published specimens of the year 315 of which the descriptions are not sufficiently detailed to enable me to assign them to one or other of the above variations, but in any case bearing Naṣr b. Aḥmad and Muḥammad b. 'Ali as above: Yacoub Artin Bey, no.201; Markoff, pg. 176, no.1 and no.2. Also Berlin, unpublished, no. 241/1882, my notes on which fail to show the presence or absence of points or auxiliary letters.

For Muḥammad b. 'Ali (Ṣa'lūk), see the note under no.150 and no.158 above. For Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the Sāmānid, cf. no.158.

## 160A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 316.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
محمد بن علي	المقتدر بالله
	نصر بن احمد

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينربالمحمدية سنة ست عشرة وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Casanova, no.1039, pg. 44; Markoff, no. 3, no. 4 (another die), pg. 176; Paris, unpublished.

## 160B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 316.

Obverse as no.160 A, but الدرهم.

Reverse as no.160 A.

Markoff, no. 5, pg. 176; Berlin, unpublished, "Guthrie 1876".

## 160C. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 316.

Obv.	Rev.
الموفق	الله
اشهد ان لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	ابو طاهر بن محمد
لطاعة الله	

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ست عشرة وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

For Naṣr b. Aḥmad (nos.160 A and B), the Sāmānid, cf. no.158 above. This is the last year in which Muḥammad b. 'Alī's name appears on the coinage, and the last year of his life. He fell ill in the first part of Sha'bān, sent for al-Ḥasan (b. al-Qāsim) al-Dā'i, the 'Alid of Ṭabaristān, and Mākān b. Kālī (Kāki) his lieutenant, to come and take over Rayy<sup>1</sup>; then went on to Dāmghān where he died (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 121, 1.20-122, 1.2). Meanwhile Asfār b. Shīrwayh the Dailamite occupied Ṭabaristān and shortly came to blows with al-Ḥasan al-Dā'i in a battle in which the 'Alid was routed and killed (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 138, 11.12ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. V. Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites* (no. 3 of Publications de la Société des Études iraniennes et de l'Art persan), Paris, 1932, pg. 9.



Then Asfār took Rayy and administered the city along with Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Qazwīn, Zanjān, Abhar, Qumm and Karaj, declaring his allegiance to the Sāmānid (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 139, ll.14–16). Asfār's stay was brief, however, for, still in the same year, he was defeated and killed by Mardāvīch b. Ziyār the Dailamite, who then proceeded to Rayy which he occupied and administered together with Hamadhān, Qazwīn, Kankuwar (Kanguvār), al-Dinawar, Burūjird, Qumm, Qashān, Iṣbahān and Jurbādhaqān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 142, l.11–144, l.20). Mas'ūdi places these events in 317 (Mas'ūdi, IX, 6, ll.1ff.); and ibn-Isfandiyār (pp. 210–217) says 319. The latter author also declares that the Dā'i and Mākān expelled Muḥammad b. 'Alī from Rayy.

The curious *dīnār*, no. 160 C, must have been struck after the death of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. For the time being I must leave unsettled the identity of the abu-Ṭāhīr b. Muḥammad whose name is found on the reverse of this coin. Could he possibly be a son of Muḥammad b. 'Alī? If so, why is the name of the Sāmānid omitted? Remarkable in themselves are the

inscriptions on the obverse.  $\text{أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ}$  is of course the orthodox formula but most exceptional in Muslim numismatics, and unique, I believe, in the coinage of the 'Abbāsīd period<sup>1</sup>.  $\text{الموفق لطاعة الله}$ , "successful through obedience to God", is not, I believe, a title, but rather a pious expression. Whether it refers to abu-Ṭāhīr b. Muḥammad (reverse), I do not know, but this seems most likely. I have not been able to find anyone who was known to have employed this phrase as a title.

161. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 317.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
	المقتدر بالله
	نصر بن احمد

Obv. inner margin:  $\text{بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمدية سنة سبع عشرة وثلاثمائة}$

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3–4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

(There are several dies of this issue, with ornamental variations, and as my notes are deficient in several details, I have grouped them all together under one head.)

Casanova, no.1027, pg.43 (no ornament described, but the descriptions throughout this inventory are abbreviated); da Cunha, Pt.2, no.1167, pg.3 (no ornament described, but here also descriptions are always very brief); Fraehn, Recensio, no.223, pg.88 (with \* beneath the obverse); Istanbul, no. 803 (like the Istanbul specimen of the 314 issue but

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad b. Taghlaq, Sultān of Delhi (725–752), issued gold and silver coins with the inscription:  $\text{أشهد ان لا اله الا الله واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله}$ . Cf. B.M., Catalogue of Indian Coins, Stanley Lane-Poole, The Coins of the Sultāns of Dehli, London, 1884, nos. 260–263.

without  $\text{ع}$ ; this die would therefore have • above and below the obverse area); Markoff, no. 540, pg. 134 (U above obverse area); Markoff, no. 541, pg. 134 (variation of no 540); Markoff, no. 542, pg. 134 (\* above obverse area); Markoff, no. 543, pg. 134 (variation of no. 542); B. M., unpublished, 1915/1/8, no. 140 (ornaments?); Paris, unpublished (three specimens, with three variations in star and crescent ornaments; Paris, unpublished (with بِالْيَمْنِ, bi-al-yumn, "auspicious").

In this year occurred the abdication of al-Muqtadir and his prompt return to the throne (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 147, 1.4–149, ll. 15ff.). It is interesting to note that in spite of the frequent political upheavals which Rayy was experiencing, the Sāmānid supremacy (Naṣr b. Aḥmad) continues to be recognized on the coinage of the city.

162A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 318.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	له
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
	المقتدر بالله
	نصر بن احمد

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِ عَشْرَةَ وَثَلَاثَةَ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3–4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Blau u. Stickel, Zur muhammedanischen Numismatik und Epigraphik, ZDMG, 1857, no. 20, pg. 452 (with a word or symbol, unintelligible in transcription, over the obverse area, and a pellet beneath) (Tiesenhausen, Mélanges, no. 6, pg. 196); Paris, unpublished.

162B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 318.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	له
وحده لا شريك له	محمد
ابو العباس بن	رسول
امير المؤمنين	الله
	المقتدر بالله

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِالْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِ عَشْرَةَ وَثَلَاثَةَ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3–4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Symbol. III, no. 41, inaccessible to me (cited by Zambaur, Contrib. II, pg. 152, not described); ANS.

For Naṣr b. Aḥmad (no. 162 A), cf. the preceding issues. With no.162 B, Rayy appears to have returned to 'Abbāsīd allegiance. Or should perhaps no.162 B precede no.162 A? The chronicles do not enlighten us, but it is clear that for a short while the Sāmānīd was out.

163A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 320.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
	المقتدر بالله
	نصر بن احمد
	fleuron

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمّدية سنة عشرين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Large size, 29.5 mm.

ANS.

163B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 320.

Not described in full, but bears the name: عميد الدولة.

Tiesenhhausen, *Mélanges*, no. 7, pg. 196 (ref. to Mscr.-Fraehn, Vol. XXXV).

Again, as in the year 318, the coins indicate an unsettled state in respect to Sāmānīd vs. 'Abbāsīd supremacy at Rayy. No.163 A is Sāmānīd; no.163 B is 'Abbāsīd. Which should precede the other is not clear.

Other coins bearing the inscription 'Amīd al-Dawlah are: A, Miṣr, 320 (Ties., no. 2357; B. M. Add. i, no. 424g, pg. 77); R, Madīnat al-Salām, 320 (Ties., no. 2358); A, al-Ahwāz, 320 (ANS, 2 specimens); R, Tustar min al-Ahwāz, 320 (Ties., no. 2361), — all with the name of abu-al-'Abbās b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn as well (cf. no. 148 above). A passage in ibn-al-Athīr provides us with the information necessary for the identification of the personage who bore the title 'Amīd al-Dawlah. This was al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (b. 'Abdullāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahab), appointed vizier in the year 319 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 169, ll.15ff.); he held office till Rabī' II, 320, when he was removed (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 176, ll.3-13). The Caliph al-Muqtadir had given him the title of honour 'Amīd al-Dawlah, and had authorized him to engrave his name (this title) on the coins. (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 175, ll.14-15). (Cf. Weil, II, 567). Lane-Poole (B.M. Add. i, pg. 77, foot-note) suggested that 'Amīd al-Dawlah was "probably the surname of Moḥammad ibn Taghīj"

(Muḥammad b. Ṭughj, al-Ikhshīd); but he was probably misled by the fact that the only coin he had to deal with was the *dīnār* of Miṣr.

In 320 al-Muqtadir was assassinated; he was succeeded on the 27th of Shawwāl by al-Qāhir bi-allāh (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 178–182). During the change of power, al-Qāhir did away with ‘Alī, son of al-Muqtadir (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 182, l.1), who had been honorary governor of Rayy since 301 (cf. the note under no. 149 above).

Although the name of Mardāvīch b. Ziyār apparently does not occur on the coin, I assume that he had certain authority at Rayy at this time (cf. ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 167, ll. 13–14, year 319).

164. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 323.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عبد الله	الامام
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
امير المؤمنين	الراضي بالله

*Obv. margin:* Qur’ān, IX, 33, as far as <sup>”</sup>كله.

*Rev. margin:* لسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمدية سنة ثلث وعشرين وثلاثمائة

Tornberg, Cl. II, no. 508, pg.115.

Al-Rādi had succeeded to the Caliphate the 6th of Jumāda I, 322 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 211, ll.3–4). ‘Abdullāh, above the obverse area, is in the sense of “The Servant of God” (religious title of all of the Caliphs), coupled with “Commander of the Faithful” below the area. (Cf. ‘Abdullāh ‘Abdullāh al-Ma’mūn, no. 96 G, H, etc. above). Note also the reappearance of the title al-Imām.

Mardāvīch b. Ziyār was (in 321) still resident at Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 195, l.21; 196, l.12), but in 323 was killed (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 222, ll.10ff.), and the affairs of the Ziyārid kingdom were taken over by his brother Washmgīr with his headquarters at Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 227, ll.8ff.). This year marks the beginning of the spread of the power of the Buyids who were soon to occupy Rayy for so many years; ‘Imād al-Dawlah (who had already taken Shīrāz and minted coins there) and Rukn al-Dawlah were now struggling with Washmgīr for al-Jibāl (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 233, ll.6–11).

165A. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 324.

Not described in full, but the reverse area bears the names of al-Rādi, the Caliph, and Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the Sāmānid.

Markoff, no. 629, pg.137; Tornberg, Cl. IX, no. 451, pg. 219 (date and mint questioned).

## 165b. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 324.

Obv.

•  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
ح ك

Rev.

محمد  
رسول الله الراضى بالله  
نصر بن احمد  
ك ح

(“Das Wort الله steht zwischen zwei Blumen”). [?].

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة أربع وعشرين وثلاثمائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur’ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur’ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, Die jüngsten, etc., ZDMG, 1868, no.14, pg. 291.

Note the recurrence of the name of the Sāmānid, after a four year interval.

## 166. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 325.

This coin is unfortunately not described, but appears to bear only the name of the Caliph al-Rāḍi. It is listed as “Ziyārid?”, but I doubt if this classification has any documentary justification.

Yacoub Artin Bey, no. 208, bis.

## 167. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 326.

Not described, but bears the name of the Sāmānid, Naṣr b. Aḥmad.

Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici, IV, N.C., 1886, pg. 229.

Washmgīr (cf. no.164 above) was still resident at Rayy in this year (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 258, l.24; 262, l.19).

## 168. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 327.

Sāmānid. Bears the name of Naṣr b. Aḥmad.

Markoff, Supplement, no. 658a, pg. 923 (not described except for mention of religious inscription, Qur’ān, LXIV, 1, on the obverse); another specimen in the possession of an antique dealer in Teheran in 1936. I saw and read the coin but have no record of the inscriptions, except for the name of Naṣr b. Aḥmad.

Qur’ān LXIV, 1, which apparently appears on the outer margin of the obverse of this

*dīnār*, reads: يَسْبِيحُ لِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ لَهُ الْمُلْكُ وَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

In 327 Washmgīr, the Ziyārid, marched out of Rayy against Rukn al-Dawlah, the Buyid, at Iṣbahān, where the former won a victory (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 267, ll.18ff.). In the following year, however, Rukn al-Dawlah returned to Iṣbahān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 270).

## 169. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 329.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
نصر من الله (minuscule)	لله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	الراضى بالله
	نصر بن احمد
	(minuscule) وفتح قريب

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمّدية سنة تسع وعشرين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. ii, no. 295; Berlin, unpublished, no. 236/1882; GCM.

This *dīnār* must have been struck early in the year, for al-Rāḍī died in the middle of Rabī' I, to be succeeded by al-Muttaqī li-allāh (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 273, ll. 23-274, l. 3; 275, ll. 14ff.). During this year Washmgīr was forced to abandon Rayy to the Sāmānid general abu-'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Muḥtāj (صاحب جيوش خراسان للسامانية) (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 291, ll. 14-15), who defeated Washmgīr, forcing him to take refuge in Ṭabaristān. From Rayy as headquarters abu-'Alī consolidated under his power the neighbouring provinces (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 269, ll. 10-17; 291, ll. 12ff.). Washmgīr had had, probably during the first month of the year, or perhaps late in 328, an encounter with Rukn al-Dawlah whose intentions against Rayy were already evident (ibn-Isfandiyār, pp. 218-219).

نَصْرٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ: "Aid is from God, and a speedy victory" (Qur'ān, LXI, 13),

inscribed partly on the obverse and partly on the reverse of this coin, is a common pious ejaculation used in inscriptions (cf. nos. 170, 171, and 181 below). In this case the verse may record the victory over Washmgīr.

## 170A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 330.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
	المتقى لله
	نصر بن احمد



*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ثلثين وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Descriptions of the published examples are abbreviated, and my notes on the Berlin unpublished specimen fail to show whether or not the coin bears the religious legend

وَفَتْحِ قَرِيبِ (cf. no.169 above).

Fonrobert, no. 6347; Markoff, no. 677, pg.139; Berlin, unpublished, no. 232/1881.

170b. *Ar.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 330.

Not described in full, but bears the name of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, and

has on the obverse, above: نصر من الله and beneath وَفَتْحِ قَرِيبِ.

Casanova, no. 1034, pg. 43; Ch. M. Fraehn, Über einige dem Asiatischen Museum von Hn. Dr. Hansen zum Geschenk dargebrachte Münzen, Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Tome III, 1847, col. 248, no. 2 (Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. VI, no. 232, cc, pg. 240).

Abu-'Ali b. al-Muḥtāj (cf. note under no.169 above) and al-Ḥasan b. al-Firuzān, who had applied to the former at Rayy for help against Washmgir, besieged the latter at Sāri in this year (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 292, ll.3ff.). Abu-'Ali himself returned to Khurāsān during the year 330, which gave Washmgir the opportunity to return to and retake Rayy. There followed a reconciliation between him and al-Ḥasan b. al-Firuzān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 292, ll.18-24). These events are of course not reflected in the coinage, where Naṣr b. Aḥmad's name appears as usual.

The Buyids were closing in; during the present year they occupied Adharbayjān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 289ff.).

171a. *Ar.* Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 331.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
نصر من الله وفتح	الله
قريب	المتقى لله
	نصر بن احمد

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة احد وثلثين وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Aḥmed Zia, Meskūkāt-i-Islāmiyyeh Taqvimi, Istanbul, 1910, no.1821 (with the addition of الله الكافي); Markoff, Supplement, no.735a, pg.883 (not described); Paris, unpublished.

## 171B. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 331.

Not described, but bears the name of Nūḥ b. Naṣr.

Markoff, no. 689, pg. 140.

No. 171 A must have been struck during the first half of the year, since the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, whose name appears here for the last time, died in Rajab of this year (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 300, ll. 3ff.). He was succeeded by Nūḥ b. Naṣr whom we find on no. 171 B. After Naṣr's death, Rukn al-Dawlah, the Buyid, who had heard of Washmgīr's reoccupation of Rayy, advanced against the city and put Washmgīr to flight. His victory was made easier because of the desertion of many of Washmgīr's troops. The Buyid received the homage of al-Ḥasan b. al-Fīruzān (cf. note under no. 170 above) (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 293, ll. 1-11). The passage describing these events is under the year 330 in ibn-al-Athīr, but since Rukn al-Dawlah did not advance against Rayy till after the death of Naṣr in Rajab, 331, it seems to me that Rukn al-Dawlah's occupation of Rayy must have taken place in the latter part of 331 or early in 332. Cf. ibn-Isfandiyār, pg. 220, where Rukn al-Dawlah's victory over Washmgīr is reported as of the end of Ramaḍān, 331. No. 171 B, with Nūḥ's name, must have been minted in the short interval between Naṣr's death in Rajab and Rukn al-Dawlah's occupation of Rayy (i. e. during the months of Sha'bān or early Ramaḍān, if we accept ibn-Isfandiyār's date. On the other hand, no. 172 below is the best sort of evidence that Rukn al-Dawlah's first occupation of Rayy was not permanent, for the issue of the year 333 is not Buyid but Sāmānid. At this stage the Buyid successes at Rayy were probably little more than advantages in raids and skirmishes, and it is evident that Rukn al-Dawlah had not yet gained control of the administration and the mint.

## 172. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 333.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
الله احد الله	محمد
الصمد لم يلد	رسول
ولم يولد ولم	الله
يكن له كفواً احد	المستكفى بالله
	نوح بن نصر

(Words thus distributed?)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمدية سنة ثلث وثلثين وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Casanova, no. 1035, pg. 43 (not described, but listed under Nūḥ); Berlin, unpublished, "Guthrie, 1876"; Paris, unpublished.

Cf. the notes on the issues of the year 331 (no. 171 above). According to the historical accounts, Rukn al-Dawlah was still in possession of Rayy during the first part of this year ibn-al-Athīr tells us (VIII, 333, ll. 3-16) that Rayy was in the Buyid's hands and that Nūḥ sent abu-'Alī b. al-Muḥtāj against him. They met in a battle three *farsakhs* from

Rayy; abu-'Ali was routed and retired to near Nisābūr, whence he returned to Nūḥ at Marw, gathered reinforcements and marched again to Nisābūr and once more to Rayy in Jumāda II. Rukn al-Dawlah retired when he heard of the size of abu-'Ali's army, so that the latter was able to take over the city and the surrounding regions (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 333, l.23-334, l.16). We know that Nūḥ himself was absent from Bukhāra for seven months — Šafar till Ramaḍān — of this year, during which time he was in Khurāsān (cf. Zambaur, Contrib. II, pg.151; Mirkhwand, ed. Bombay, pg.15 quoted). As the name of the Caliph on the present coin is al-Mustakfi, who succeeded in Šafar 333 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 312, l.22-315, l.16), it is clear that the *ḍinār* was minted during the second six months of the year, i.e. Rajab to dhu-al-Ḥijjah.

Note the exceptional use on the obverse of the 112th Sūrah of the Qur'ān, very rarely used since Umayyad days when it was the common verse on the reverse. (Cf. the use of this chapter by the Kākwayhids in the first quarter of the 5th Century.)

## VI. THE BUYID PERIOD

### 173. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 334.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	ركن الدولة
المطيع لله	ابو على
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة اربع وثلاثين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tornberg, *Die jüngsten, etc.*, no. 2, pg. 292.

Al-Mustakfi abdicated in Jumāda II, 334, and was succeeded by al-Muṭī' li-allāh (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 338, 1.4-340, 1.4). Misunderstandings between the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr and his general abu-'Ali left Rayy vulnerable again to the Buyids, and 'Imād al-Dawlah ordered Rukn al-Dawlah to hurry to the city (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 344-349, 1.10). This coin proves that Rukn al-Dawlah obeyed his instructions and that he was successful. Ibn-al-Athīr is wrong in reporting that Rayy was not taken by the Buyids till 335 when, with Khurāsān in turmoil, abu-'Ali had left the city (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 351, 11.17-22). Zambaur's *Manuel* should also be corrected, pg. 45, where the date is 336. On the basis of the presence of al-Muṭī' 's name on the *dirham*, we can date the final Buyid capture of Rayy between Rajab and dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 334.

### 174A. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 335.

My notes lack the details, but the coin bears the names of both 'Imād al-Dawlah and Rukn al-Dawlah, the Buyids.

Casanova, *Sceaux Arabes en Plomb*, in *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 1894, pg. 116 (mentioned only; I have seen this coin in the Cabinet des Médailles).

### 174B. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 335.

A *dirham* in the Istanbul Museum, unnumbered; both the date and the mint are obscure.

Casanova (op. cit., no. 174 A) remarked that he knew of only two coins, that of al-Muhammadiyah and a *dīnār* of Hamadhān of the same year, and the lead seal described

in his article (pp. 115-116), on which the names of 'Imād al-Dawlah and Rukn al-Dawlah occur together, but cf. nos. 175, 175 X, and 176 below.

On the taking of Rayy by Rukn al-Dawlah, cf. no. 173 above.

175A. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 336.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	.... الدولة
	.. كن الدو...

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ست وثلاثين وثلاثمائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Berlin, unpublished, no. 545/1897.

Historical reports are so strongly against a *dirham* of 336 listed (and not described) by Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. VI, no. 231 c, pg. 40, with Nūḥ b. Naṣr the Sāmānid, that I have not accepted it as an issue of al-Muhammadiyah, although it must be mentioned here.

In this year Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Razzāq was driven out of Nisābūr by Maṣṣūr b. Qarātekīn and Washmgīr. He sought the protection of Rukn al-Dawlah who was at Rayy and who welcomed him to the city (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 353, ll. 17-22; 354, ll. 8-12). According to ibn-Isfandiyār (pg. 223), it was out of Jurjān, in 337, that Muḥammad was driven. Rukn al-Dawlah and al-Ḥasan b. al-Fīruzān (cf. the note under no. 170 above) set out together for Ṭabaristān and Jurjān, which provinces they proceeded to take from Washmgīr (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 358, ll. 8-14).

I take it that the two names on the reverse of no. 175 are 'Imād al-Dawlah and Rukn al-Dawlah.

175x. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 337.

Obv.	Rev.
مح	مح لله ب
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	عماد الدولة ابو الحسن
لا شريك له	ركن الدولة ابو على
المطيع لله	المملك
ه	

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمّدية سنة سبع ثلثين [sic] وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Tiesenhausen, Нумизматическія новинки, no. 78, in Записки восточи. отдѣл. имп. Русск. Археолог. общ. Vol. VI, pp. 229-264; Markoff, Supplement, no. 17b, pg. 982.

Rukn al-Dawlah was absent from Rayy a part of this year, campaigning against the Sāmānid army (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 360; cf. the note under no. 175 above). His absence gave al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir (the Salārid of Adharbayjān) the opportunity to attempt occupation of Rayy. The essay was unsuccessful (Miskawayh, II, 115, ll. 5-8; 131, ll. 8ff.; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 360). It was in this year that 'Imād al-Dawlah, Rukn al-Dawlah and Mu'izz al-Dawlah had decided on the partition of the growing Buyid kingdom, and Rukn al-Dawlah had been formally invested with Khurāsān (Miskawayh, II, 117, l. 20-118, l. 1). Rukn al-Dawlah was so hard pressed on all sides that he was forced to send to Mu'izz al-Dawlah in al-Mawṣil for help (Mīrkhwand, Buyids, pg. 22; cf. ibn-Isfandiyyār, pg. 223).

176A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 338.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

المطيع لله

*Rev.*

لله

محمد رسول الله

عماد الدولة ابو الحسن

ركن الدولة ابو علي

بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمّدية سنة ثمان وثلثين وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M., unpublished, 1914/11/8, no. 2.

176B. B. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 338.

Not described, but listed under Rukn al-Dawlah.

Markoff, no. 1, pg. 323; Markoff, Topografiya, pg. 37, no. 210 (mint questioned, two references).

No. 176 A at least can be dated to the first half of the year by the death of 'Imād al-Dawlah in Jumāda II, 338 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 362, ll. 22-23). Following his brother's death, Rukn al-Dawlah travelled to Shīrāz, leaving as his lieutenant in Rayy his nephew, 'Alī b. Kāmāh, one of his generals (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 364, ll. 6-7). This must have been after Rukn al-Dawlah had marched against Washmgīr in Tabaristān, the latter having fled without a battle (Miskawayh, II, 119, last line — 120, l. 3).

177. B. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 339.

Not described, but bearing the name of the Sāmānid, Nūḥ b. Naṣr.

Markoff, no. 823, pg. 147.



Once more we have a Sāmānid coin struck at Rayy. The chronicles contain the information that explains this reversal in Buyid fortunes. During Rukn al-Dawlah's absence, first in Ṭabaristān or Jurjān, and then in Fārs after 'Imād al-Dawlah's death (cf. no. 176 above), while 'Ali b. Kāmāh was left in charge at Rayy, Maṣṣūr b. Qarātekīn the Sāmānid general entered the city. This was in Ṣafar, 339. The latter thereupon took over all of the uplands as far as Qirmāsīn (Kirmānshāh). The Buyid general, 'Ali b. Kāmāh, escaped to Hamadhān where Subuktekīn, one of the Baghdād generals, shortly arrived with reinforcements. Toward the end of the year Maṣṣūr b. Qarātekīn directed the Sāmānid army against Hamadhān, but before he arrived there he had trouble with his followers, many of whom returned to Rayy, and he himself came back to the city in Muḥarram, 340. (Miskawayh, II, 123, ll. 4-6; 137-138; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 365, l. 23-367, l. 20; according to another passage in Miskawayh, II, 129, ll. 14-15, Maṣṣūr moved from Rayy to Iṣbahān when Rukn al-Dawlah, hearing of the trouble, came up from Fārs to Hamadhān.)

I cannot find evidence for Zambaur's note (Manuel, pg. 45) that Rukn al-Dawlah retook Rayy within the year 339. This would not agree with the report in ibn-al-Athīr.

178A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 340.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو علي
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمّدية سنة اربعين وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Markoff, Supplement, no. 1a, pg. 885 (not described); Paris, unpublished.

178B. B. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 340.

Obverse as no. 178 A, but الدرهم.

Reverse as no. 178 A.

Markoff, no. 2, pg. 323 (not described); Tornberg, Cl. XIV, no. 17, pg. 254.

In Muḥarram, 340 (cf. the note under no. 177), Rukn al-Dawlah defeated Maṣṣūr b. Qarātekīn at Rūdhbār of Khānlanjān, thus regaining possession of his capital, Rayy. There were renewed engagements in the next two months, but in Rabī' II (according to ibn-al-Athīr, Rabī' I), Maṣṣūr died: Miskawayh says of drink, ibn-al-Athīr gives him the benefit of the doubt and writes, of drink, or of illness, God knows best (Miskawayh, II, 136, ll. 16-18; 139, l. 16-142, last line; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 369, l. 24-370, l. 5). Abu-'Ali b. al-Muḥtāj (cf. notes under no. 169 above and following) returned to Khurāsān at the head of

the Sāmānid army after ibn-Qarātekin's death. He arrived in Nisābūr in dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 340 (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 370, l.14-371, l.2).

179A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 341.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
[?] سف	ابو على
	بويه

(Annulets within the area in triplets.)

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمّدية سنة احدى واربعين وثلاثائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

179B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 341.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
وحده لا شريك له	محمد رسول الله
معز الدولة	صلى الله عليه وسلم
ابو الحسين	المطيع لله
بويه	ركن الدولة
	ابو على
	بويه

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة احدى واربعين وثلاثائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Markoff, no.3, pg.323 (not described); Tornberg, Cl. XIV, no.18, pg.254 (ركن mistranscribed).

In this year Rukn al-Dawlah made a campaign in Ṭabaristān and Jurjān; then returned to Rayy, leaving 'Alī b. Kāmāh and al-Ḥasan b. al-Fīruzān as his lieutenants in Jurjān (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 375, ll.5-9). This was the date of the birth of Fakhr al-Dawlah who was later to rule Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 375, ll.10-11). On this coin Mu'izz al-Dawlah is recognized as Amīr al-Umarā'.

## 180. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 343.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو على
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ثلث واربعين وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, unnumbered.

Several battles had taken place at the gates of Rayy in 342 between Rukn al-Dawlah and abu-'Ali b. al-Muhtāj with whom Washmgīr was allied. At one point there was a three-months' siege of the city. Finally the Khurāsānians grew weary and retired fearful of the coming winter. Relieved of the siege, Rukn al-Dawlah attacked Washmgīr and drove him out of Ṭabaristān and Jurjān once more (Miskawayh, II, 154, l.7-155, l.15; cf. ibn-Isfandiyār, pp.223-224). In 343, abu-'Ali returned again to Rayy, this time in peace, and a treaty was negotiated. Abu-'Ali requested and received the authority over Khurāsān from the Caliph (Miskawayh, II, 156, ll.13-17; 157, ll.4-11). Nūḥ b. Naṣr, the Sāmānid overlord, died in Rabī' II of this year, and was succeeded by 'Abd-al-Malik, his son (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 381, ll.11-12; Miskawayh, II, 157, ll.4-11).

## 181. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 344.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
من الله	لله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	المطيع لله
وقتح قريب	ركن الدولة ابو على
	بويه

(The words at the top, sides and bottom are in minuscule.)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة اربعة واربعين وثلاثائة

*Obv. second margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Obv. outer margin:* Four obscure words separated by four annulets (the cast is damaged).

*Rev. inner margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

*Rev. outer margin:* نصر من الله نصر [؟] وفتح قريب

Paris, unpublished.

Once more an expedition was dispatched from Khūrāsān against Rayy, but a peace was ratified before any fighting occurred. Abu-'Ali b. al-Muḥtāj and his son died of the plague in Rayy (Miskawayh, II, 159, l.7; 161, ll.13-14; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 383, ll.10ff.). According to von Kremer (Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen, Wien, 1875-77, II, 492), there was in the same year an epidemic of typhus in Iṣbahān, Ahwāz and Baghdād.

182. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 346.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو علي
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ست واربعين وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Istanbul, unnumbered.

There were in this year severe earthquakes at Rayy, causing much loss of life (Miskawayh, II, 167, ll.18-19; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 390, ll.3-4; Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, pp. 762-3, is mistaken in reporting this catastrophe in 347).

183. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 348.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
	المطيع لله
	ركن الدولة ابو علي
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثمان واربعين وثلاثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

## 184A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 349.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

الله

محمد

رسول الله

\* المطيع لله ركن

الدولة ابو على

بويه

An ornament above the area.

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة تسع واربعين وثلاثمائة*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Wien (inventory number 7142).

## 184B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 349.

Not described but listed under Rukn al-Dawlah.

Markoff, no.7, pg.349.

In this year Rukn al-Dawlah went from Rayy to Jurjān and presented al-Ḥasan b. al-Fīruzān and ibn-'Abd-al-Razzāq with rich gifts (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 396, ll. 22-23; cf. notes under nos.175 and 179 above).

## 185. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 350.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Rev.

....

محمد

رسول الله

المطيع لله

ركن الدولة

ابو على

بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمسين وثلاثمائة*Obv. second margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Obv. outer margin:* •• six or seven times repeated.*Rev. inner margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.*Rev. outer margin:* •• six (?) times repeated.

Berlin, unnumbered.

‘Abd-al-Malik, the Sāmānid, was killed in a fall from his horse in this year, and was succeeded by his brother Maṣṣūr (Miskawayh, II, 189, ll.11-12; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 398, ll.6-10, the 12th of Shawwāl).

186A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 351.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو على
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة احدى وخمسين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur’ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur’ān, IX, 33.

Markoff, no. 8, pg. 323 (not described); Istanbul, unnumbered (coin itself removed from the tray, but so marked; I did not see the coin); Istanbul, unnumbered (35X; the digit appears to end in 5 ?); Paris, unpublished.

Rukn al-Dawlah made another campaign in Ṭabaristān and Jurjān in this year (Miskawayh, II, 190, ll.1-2; 191, l.20).

186x. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 354.

Not described. Name of ruler not given. (Rukn al-Dawlah.)

J. Iversen, Drei Funde mittelalterlicher Münzen in Rußland, Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde, VI, Berlin, 1871-1873, pg. 295, no. 78 (cf. Markoff, Topografiya, pg. 24, no. 134).

187. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 355.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو على
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur’ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur’ān, IX, 33.



Fraehn, *Recensio*, no.2b, pg.599; Lindberg, no.22, pg.223 (المطيع الله omitted from the transcription by inadvertence, present in the translation); Markoff, no.11, pg.323 (not described); Markoff, *Topografiya*, pg.38, no.212 (with one reference).

In 355, Ibrāhīm al-Salār fled from Adharbayjān to Rukn al-Dawlah at Rayy, where he was received with great respect by the Buyid prince. Rukn al-Dawlah had formed an alliance with Ibrāhīm's father, Marzubān, whose daughter had borne Rukn al-Dawlah's son, abu-al-'Abbās. Miskawayh was himself present at the presentation of the gifts to Ibrāhīm, and we have in the passage a valuable description of the city and the luxuries of the age. (*Miskawayh*, II, 218, l.13-219, l.8).

188. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 357.

Not described, but listed under Rukn al-Dawlah.

Markoff, no. 14, pg. 323.

(Another specimen of the year 357 or 359 is listed by Markoff, *Topografiya*, pg. 38, no. 212.)

189A. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 358.

Not described, but listed under Rukn al-Dawlah.

Markoff, no. 15, pg. 323.

There is listed in da Cunha, Pt. 2, no. 1249, pg. 8, a *dīnār* attributed to al-Muḥammadiyah, year 358, "as B.M. no. 654 with some differences". Since B.M. no. 654 is of 'Ammān (cf. Yāqūt, III, 719-721), year 367, a coin struck by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah during the reign of the Caliph al-Tā'ī, I conclude that the reading of the coin or else the reference is mistaken, and I am compelled to omit the coin from consideration.

189x. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 359.

Not described. Name of ruler not given. (Rukn al-Dawlah.)

Markoff, *Topografiya*, pg. 38, no. 212 (with one reference; cf. also the issue of 357 or 359 referred to under no.188 above).

189y. *Ṛ. Al-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 360.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المطيع لله

*Rev.*

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
ركن الدولة ابو علي بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمّدية سنة ستين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Aḥmed Zia, *Meskkikāt-i-Islāmiyyeh Taqvīmi*, Istanbul, 1910, no.1739.

## 190. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 361.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Ornament	لله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله حدوده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	المطيع لله
العز لله	ركن الدولة ابو على
	بويه

Ornament ٢٠ above رسول; ornaments right and left of لله.

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة احدى وستين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Fraehn, *Recensio*, no. 2d, pg. 599 (date and mint effaced, but possibly this issue); Markoff, no.17, pg. 323 (not described); Soret à Fraehn, no. 47, pg. 21.

*Al-'Izz li-allāh* is a common pious exclamation, but rare on coins.

## 191. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 362.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو على
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اثنتين [؟] وستين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Johnston Coll., pg.26 (no description); Paris, unpublished (the digit is probably correct).

192. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 363.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له ع	رسول الله
المطيع لله	ركن الدولة
	ابو على
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثلث وستين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, VII, N. C., 1892, pg. 170; Johnston Coll., pg. 26 (no description); Paris, unpublished (auxiliary letters?).

In the middle (or the 13th) of dhu-al-Qa'dah, 363, the Caliph al-Muṭī' abdicated and appointed his son al-Ṭā'i' as successor (Miskawayh, II, 327, 1.18-328, 1.2; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 468, 1.21-469, 1.4).

193. *Æ*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 365.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	عضد الدولة
لا شريك له	ابو شجاع
الطائع لله	مؤيد الدولة
ركن الدولة ابو على	ابو منصور
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس وستين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Double *dirham*.

Zambaur, *Contrib.* III, no. 467, pg. 135.

This coin is excellent testimony to an event of importance in Buyid history that took place in this year. There had been an estrangement between Rukn-al-Dawlah and his son 'Aḡud al-Dawlah, which the latter felt it advisable to terminate now that his father was declining in strength and his death appeared to be approaching. A reconciliation was

effected in a meeting at Iṣbahān in Jumāda I, in which Rukn al-Dawlah made public his choice of ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah as his successor to the leadership of the Buyid house. Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah, another of Rukn al-Dawlah’s sons, who was then governing Iṣbahān, agreed to this arrangement. The actual partition did not take place till the next year, after Rukn al-Dawlah’s death, but the understanding was as follows: ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah to be the overlord, implying of course the exercise of the control of the disintegrating ‘Abbāsīd empire; Fakhr al-Dawlah to have Hamadhān and the provinces of al-Jabal; Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah to have Iṣbahān and its provinces (Miskawayh, II, 361, l.14-364, l.3; ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 492, ll. 2-21; cf. Mirkhwand, Buyids, 20, ll.1-3). Actually it was Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah and not Fakhr al-Dawlah who ruled Rayy from 366 till 373 (cf. nos. 194, 195 and 197 below).

On the present coin, Rukn al-Dawlah appears on the obverse as the ruling prince; ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah as the successor and Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah as the next ruler of Rayy, on the reverse.

194A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 366.

Not described, but bears the names of ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah and Mu’ayyad al-Dawlah.

Markoff, no.25, pg. 324.

194B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 366.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Fleuron	له
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	الطائع لله
مؤيد الدولة	عضد الدولة
ابو منصور	ابو شجاع
بويه	

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمّدية سنة ست وستين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur’ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur’ān, IX, 33.

Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici*, VII, N. C., 1892, pg.170; Johnston Coll., pg.26 (not described); Markoff, no. 26, pg. 324 (not described); Paris, unpublished.

On the partition of the Buyid lands, cf. the note under no. 193 above. Rukn al-Dawlah had returned to Rayy (or “near” it) in Rajab, 365, after the meeting at Iṣbahān mentioned above; his illness grew worse and in the first month (Muḥarram) of 366, he died (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 492, ll.2-4, l.22. One might gather that there is a confusion of dates in the report of ibn-al-Athīr, but there is none. He opens the account with the year 366, returns to discuss the events of 365, and then takes up the story again at the point where Rukn al-Dawlah’s illness became grave). The coin, which was minted after Muḥarram, 366, shows

us that 'Aḍud al-Dawlah had, as arranged, succeeded his father as chief of the family (this time his name appears on the reverse with that of the Caliph); and that Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah, not Fakhr al-Dawlah, had the authority in Rayy. When ibn-al-Athīr, in recounting the affair of the arrest and imprisonment of the Vizier, abu-al-Faṭḥ b. abi-al-Faḍl b. al-'Umayd, at Rayy in 366, writes that 'Aḍud al-Dawlah instructed Fakhr al-Dawlah to execute the arrest (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 497, ll. 9-10: كُتِبَ إِلَى أَخِيهِ فَخْرِ الدَّوْلَةِ بِالرَّيِّ يَأْمُرُهُ بِالْقَبْضِ: (عليه وعلى أهله وأصحابه ففعل ذلك before recounted how the partition of the Buyid lands *was* to be, according to which plan Fakhr al-Dawlah should have received al-Jibāl. A few lines farther along (VIII, 497, ll. 20-21), in giving the details of abu-al-Faṭḥ's arrest, he has the right person carrying out the order, i. e. Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah. فَلَمَّا كَانَ السَّحَرُ دَعَا مُؤَيَّدَ الدَّوْلَةِ فَقَبِضَ عَلَيْهِ وَارْسَلَ إِلَى دَارِهِ فَاخَذَ جَمِيعَ مَا فِيهَا etc... (Cf. P. Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Frim*, Browne Memorial Volume, Cambridge, 1922, pg. 126).

As a matter of fact, although Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah's agreement to the will of Rukn al-Dawlah before the latter's death was expressed at Iṣbahān, he had immediately quarreled with Fakhr al-Dawlah and had forced him out of the provinces which were by right his brother's, so that Fakhr al-Dawlah escaped to Jurjān and later to Khurāsān to seek help from the Sāmānids (Mīrkhwand, *Buyids*, pg. 30, l. 18-31, l. 8); and this state of affairs is authenticated by the coins of this and the following years (cf. especially no. 198).

195A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 367.

Not described, but bears the names of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah.

Markoff, no. 27, pg. 324.

195B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 367.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ	لله
الطائع لله	محمد
الملك السيد	رسول الله
عضد الدولة	مؤيد الدولة
	أبو منصور
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة سبع ستين [sic] وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Markoff, Supplement, no. 27 A 1, 27 A 2, pg. 983 (two variants, not described); Paris, unpublished.

For 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah, cf. nos. 193 and 194 above. Note the use of the new title "al-Malik al-Sayyid" for 'Aḍud al-Dawlah.

In this year 'Abd-al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, Qāḍi at Rayy, was honoured and made Qāḍi al-Quḍāh (chief justice) of all the lands ruled by Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 510, l. 23–511, l. 3).

195x. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 368.

Not described, but bears the name of Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah (alone?).

Markoff, Supplement, no. 27 A 3, pg. 983.

195y. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 369.

Not described, but bears the name of Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah (alone?).

Markoff, Topografiya, pg. 10, no. 50 (with reference to the description of a find in the Kazan district).

We are told in the year 369 of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's expedition against Fakhr al-Dawlah, who, if one were to judge by the account in ibn-al-Athīr, actually controlled the government of Rayy and al-Jibāl at this time (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 519, l. 14–521, l. 3). But this was, I believe, no more true than it was in 366 (cf. no. 194 above). Although ibn-al-Athīr says that 'Aḍud al-Dawlah conquered ما كان بيد فخر الدولة همدان والري وما بينهما من البلاد (Fakhr al-Dawlah's possessions, Hamadhān and Rayy and what lies between them) (VIII, 520, ll. 16–17), and turned the lands over to his brother Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah, he also states that Fakhr al-Dawlah who fled to "Balād al-Daylam" and thence to Jurjān where he took refuge with Shāms al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Washmgir, fled, not from Rayy, but from Hamadhān (VIII, 520, ll. 12–14). The coins are testimony to the fact that Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah was still in possession of Rayy and probably most of al-Jibāl. It is very likely that Fakhr al-Dawlah was only temporarily at Hamadhān (cf. ibn-Isfandiyār, pp. 225–226). 'Aḍud al-Dawlah turned over Rayy etc. to Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah as his representative, that is not unconditionally. الى (Hamadhān and Rayy and the country between them) وسلمها. (ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 520, ll. 17–18). Probably the truth of it is that this trusteeship really amounted to little more than 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's confirmation of Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah's forceful occupation of the territories originally deeded to Fakhr al-Dawlah by the father, Rukn al-Dawlah.

195z. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 370.

Not described, but bears the names of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah.

Markoff, Supplement, no. 28a, pg. 983.

Cf. the remarks under nos. 195 X and 195 Y above.

196. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah? Year 371?

A *dirham* at Paris, unpublished, assigned to Fakhr al-Dawlah, al-Muḥammadiyah, this year; but I cannot convince myself of either the date or the mint which are very obscure.

In 371, 'Aḍud al-Dawlah occupied Jurjān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 8, ll. 3–21). Fakhr al-Dawlah enlisted the aid of the Sāmānid Amīr Nūḥ, Ḥusām al-Dawlah, general of the Khurāsān army, and Qābūs (cf. note under no. 195 Y above) against 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and



Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah who were occupying Rayy and Jurjān (Rūdhrāwari, 15, ll.7ff.; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 8, l.22-10, l.2; and cf. ibn-Isfandiyār citation under no.195 Y above).

197. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 372.

Not described, but bears the names of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah.

Da Cunha, Pt. 2, no.1259, pg. 8; Markoff, no. 33, pg. 325.

As 'Aḍud al-Dawlah died in Shawwāl, 372 (Rūdhrāwari, 75; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 13, ll.15ff.), this coin was struck during the first nine months of the year. He was succeeded in the chief amirate by his son Ṣamsām al-Dawlah abu-Kālījār.

198. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 374.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	الامير السيد
الطائع لله	شاهانشاه
	فخر الدولة
	وفلك الامة
	بن ركن الدولة

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة اربع وسبعين وثلاثائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Zambaur, Contrib. II, no.104, pg.86.

Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah survived his brother 'Aḍud al-Dawlah by less than a year. He died in Sha'bān, 373 (Rūdhrāwari, 90ff.; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 18, ll.17ff.); and Fakhr al-Dawlah at last came into his heritage at Rayy in Ramaḍān, 373 (Rūdhrāwari, 93ff.; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 19, ll.5-6; cf. Mirkhwand, Buyids, pg. 31, ll.17-18, and Wilken's introduction, pp. 8-9). Of the titles borne by Fakhr al-Dawlah in his inscription on the reverse of this coin, the first, al-Amīr al-Sayyid, has a parallel in al-Malik al-Sayyid (noted above, no.195B). Shāhānshāh, the early modern Persian from of the Achaemenian *Khshāyathiya Khshāyathiyānām*, and the Pahlevi ideogram *malkān malkā* = *shāhān shāh*, modern Persian and Ottoman Turkish, *Shāhinshāh*, "king of kings", occurs here, I think, for the first time on an Islāmic coin. (Cf. J. G. Covernton, Two Coins relating to the Buwayhid and 'Okaylid Dynasties, etc., N.C., 1903, pp.177-189; and H. F. Amedroz, The Assumption of the Title *Shāhanshāh* by the Buwayhid Rulers, N. C., 1905, pp. 393-399: articles discussing two *dirhams* of the year 428 A. H. One might be misled by these discussions that this was the first occurrence of the title in Muslim numismatics.)<sup>1</sup> A second *laqab* now

<sup>1</sup> Minorsky (op. cit., pg. 145), pg. 18, likewise is in error when he states: "Déjà en 404 (1013) Bahā al-daula avait obtenu du calife le titre de *chāhinchāh* que personne n'avait porté depuis les Sasanides."

becomes common with the Buyid princes, and Falak al-Ummah, The Celestial Sphere of the People, was that adopted by Fakhr al-Dawlah. It is especially interesting to note in this connection that in this year, 374, the Caliph bestowed exceptional benefits on Fakhr al-Dawlah, including additional titles, a deed of investiture, and a robe of honour. وفيها شرف فخر الدولة من حضرة الطائع لله بالخلع السلطانية والعهد واللواء وزيادة اللقب (Rūdhrāwari, 97 ll.17 ff.). The inscriptions on the coin tally well enough with this report to be cause for considerable satisfaction to the numismatist.

199. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah ? Year 378.

A *dirham* in Paris, unpublished. The mint is very doubtful. The coin bears the name of Fakhr al-Dawlah.

200. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 380.

Hexagonal.

Obv.

لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
شاهانشاه  
فخر الدولة  
وفلك الامه

Rev.

الله احد الله  
الصمد لم يلد و  
لم يولد ولم يكن  
له كفوا احد  
الطائع لله

Obv. margin: بسم الله امر بضرب هذا الدينار [sic] كافى الدولة ابو القسم بالحمديّة سنة ثمانين وثلاثمائة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

This beautiful coin is extraordinary not only because of its shape but also because of its legends: Sūrah CXII on the reverse (cf. the Sāmānid issue, no.172, above), and the truly remarkable marginal legend: "In the name of God, Kāfi al-Dawlah abu-al-Qāsim ordered the striking of this *ḍimar* (sic) in al-Muḥammadiyah in the year 380". Kāfi al-Dawlah was undoubtedly the famous "Ṣāḥib" Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād, man-of-letters, statesman, and vizier under Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah and Fakhr al-Dawlah. He was Fakhr al-Dawlah's vizier and the strong man of the Rayy government until his death in 385 (Rūdhrāwari, 261, ll.3-4). His *kunyah* was abu-al-Qāsim, and Mīrkhwand (though not the earlier preserved sources) calls him Kāfi, صاحب كافي اسمعيل بن عباد (Buyids, 31, l.13; 32, l.10). Kāfi or al-Kāfi was a popular element of *laqabs* during this period and later. There were, for example: abu-al-Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Kawkabi al-Mu'allim, called by the *laqab* al-Kāfi, year 379 (Rūdhrāwari, 153-154); abu-al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḍabbi, year 385, called al-Kāfi al-Awhad (Rūdhrāwari, 261, ll.3-4) or simply al-Kāfi (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 77, ll.5-11); when Majd al-Dawlah came to the throne in 387, the two viziers were abu-al-'Abbās al-Ḍabbi (al-Kāfi al-Awhad) and abu-'Alī b. Ḥamūlah with the *laqab*

Awḥad al-Kufāh (Rūdhrāwari, 297, ll.6-7). Still later (year 486), there is al-Kāfi b. Fakhr al-Dawlah b. Jahīr (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 149). It is most gratifying to have this epigraphical record of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād who played such an important part in the politics of Rayy.

In 379 Fakhr al-Dawlah had made an unsuccessful expedition in Khūzistān and had returned to Rayy (Rūdhrāwari, 163, l.12-171, l.4; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 44, l.20-45, l.22).

201. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 381.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	الامير السيد
الطائع لله	شاهانشاه
	فخر الدولة
	وفلك الامة
	بن ركن الدولة

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالحمدية سنة احدى وثمانين وثلثائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Aḥmed Zia, Meskūkāt-i-Islāmiyyeh Taqvīmi, Istanbul, 1910, no. 1741 (the editor transcribed السند instead of السيد, but this is obviously a misreading).

Fraehn (Über einige merkwürdige Inedita unter den von Hn. Obrist-Lieutenant Wosoboinikow in Persien angesammelten Münzen, Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Tome IV, 1848, col. 44, no. 2) describes two *dirhams* of Fakhr al-Dawlah's struck in al-Muḥammadiyah, dates effaced, with the name of al-Ṭā'i', and the reverse inscriptions: | شاهانشاه | الامير السيد | فخر الدولة وفلك الامة | بن ركن الدولة.

202A. R (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 38X.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	امير الامراء
الطائع لله	السيد ابو طالب
	بن فخر الدولة
	بن ركن الدولة
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة.... وثمّنين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 470, pp. 135-136 (dated 381; with مجاهر or مجاهر above the obverse area; بن ركن الدولة بويه on one line, inadvertently ?); ANS (date effaced); GCM (mint and date effaced), Rayy, 1934, RA 867 (mint effaced, and only ... سبع و... of the date preserved); Rayy, 1935, RH 5005 (38x, mint effaced), 6282 (mint and date effaced), 6453 (mint and date effaced).

202B. R (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Date effaced.

Obverse as no. 202 A.

*Rev.*

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
امير الامراء  
السيد ابو طالب  
بن فخر الدولة  
[و] فلك الامة  
بويه

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 80, pg. 426 (mint also effaced); Lane-Poole, Fasti Arabici VII, N. C., 1892, pp. 163-164 (mint also effaced; مخلد (?) above obverse area); Tiesenhausen, Mélanges, no. 89, pg. 335 (cf. F. Soret, Éléments de la Numismatique Musulmane, Bale, 1868, pg. 230); ANS (two specimens, both with date effaced, one with mint effaced; word above obverse, خلاصاً; Rayy, 1934, RD 2161 (date and mint effaced, عدل (?) above obverse area ?); Rayy, 1936, RGQ 8741 (\* beneath obverse; date and mint effaced).

In order to present the chronological problem with which we are confronted in nos. 202 A and 202 B, it is essential to have certain facts well in mind. In 381 the Caliph al-Ṭā'i' was arrested and deposed, and in his place the Buyid Bahā' al-Dawlah set up al-Qādir bi-allāh. The latter entered the Dār al-Khilāfah on the 12th of Ramaḍān, 381, and the *khutbah* was read in his name on the 13th, or the 3rd according to Rūdhrawari (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 55, l. 5-57, l. 17; Rūdhrawari, 201, l. 10-203, l. 6). Abu-Ṭālib Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawlah, whose name figures on the coins in questions, was born in 379 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 48, ll. 20-21); or in 383-384 (he was four years old when he came to the throne at Rayy, al-Rūdhrawari, 297, l. 2; cf. abu-al-Fidā', ed. Cairo, 1325, II, 133, ll. 13-15); or in 376 or 377 (according to Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 426, ll. 7-8, who makes Majd al-Dawlah eleven years of age at the time of his accession). Fakhr al-Dawlah died in Sha'bān, 387 (Rūdhrawari, 296, l. 8-297, l. 5; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 93, ll. 4-16; abu-al-Fidā', ed. Istanbul, 1286, II, 140, l. 12, ed. Cairo, 1325, II, 133, ll. 13-15; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 426; Mirkhwand, 34, l. 18-35, l. 6) and was succeeded by his son Majd al-Dawlah, abu-Ṭālib Rustam.

Thus, on the date of al-Ṭā'i's deposition, 381, and on the date of Majd al-Dawlah's accession to the throne of the Buyid house of al-Jibāl, 387, all are agreed; and there is disagreement only over the question of Majd al-Dawlah's age when his father died, i. e. the question of Majd al-Dawlah's birth date: between 376 and 384. In any case, Majd al-Dawlah was not younger than four and not older than eleven when he came to the throne under the regency of his energetic and courageous mother, called al-Sayyidah. Now, only one (Zambaur's) of the numerous specimens of the two variations of the coin under discussion has the date 381, preserved. One example is enough to raise the first of two chronological problems. The year 381 was seven years before abu-Ṭālib Rustam's accession, and, according to two authorities, about three years before he was born. This state of affairs obviously requires an explanation. Zambaur, in an attempt to account for his coin, gives 379 as Majd al-Dawlah's birth-date (without citing the other alternatives), calls attention to Fakhr al-Dawlah's expedition against Bahā' al-Dawlah in 379 (cf. note under no. 200 above), comments on the fact that Fakhr al-Dawlah seems to drop out of history till 384, and on the basis of these facts, suggests that between 379 and 384 there was a rebellion against Fakhr al-Dawlah, during which his infant son was raised to the throne. This coin would then commemorate the supposed temporary accession of Majd al-Dawlah in 381. The lack of Majd al-Dawlah's later regal titles would lend weight to the argument. Here he is simply called: Amīr al-Umarā' al-Sayyid abu-Ṭālib son of Fakhr al-Dawlah Buwayh. (But see below the citation from Rūdhrawari under no. 205, where the first occurrence of abu-Ṭālib's honorifics is justified by an historical passage.)

In my opinion an event of such relative importance as that which Zambaur suggests would somehow find reflection in the accounts of the chroniclers. At all events, the argument breaks down completely when the *dīnār*, no. 201, is taken into consideration. Here is a coin of Fakhr al-Dawlah's, year 381, struck at Rayy before the deposition of the Caliph al-Ṭā'i, i. e. before the 13th of Ramaḍān, 381. So Fakhr al-Dawlah was still in control of Rayy at this date, and it is exceedingly unlikely that the suggested revolution, the raising of the infant abu-Ṭālib (incidentally, if there had been a revolution, would the rebels have put the ejected prince's baby son on the throne?), and the minting of a coin in his name all took place within the short compass of, let us say, eight months. — Did Zambaur misread the date?

Next, let us consider the coins with the date 38X, the second chronological problem. The authorities make us accept the year 387 as the date of Majd al-Dawlah's accession; yet the name of the Caliph on the coins is al-Ṭā'i who was deposed in 381. No matter what digit we hypothecate, from 381 till 389, we are faced with a glaring contradiction. The specimens with date entirely effaced present the same anomaly since we cannot escape the two important dates 381 and 387; Majd al-Dawlah and al-Ṭā'i should not appear together in an inscription. When Lane-Poole published the piece with date and mint obliterated (no. 202 B), he suggested that the date should be 379 and that the coin was struck to celebrate the birth of Majd al-Dawlah. But this hypothesis is eliminated (it is not probable in itself) by the knowledge of the specimens on which the date 38X is preserved.

The real explanation is to be found in the chronicles. When Bahā' al-Dawlah proclaimed al-Qādir as Caliph (see above), the Turks and Daylamites in the army at Baghdād at



first mutinied and only complied in allowing the new Caliph's name to be read in the *khutbah* on the 3rd or 13th of Ramaḍān. In the East al-Qādir was accepted still less willingly. Ibn-al-Athīr tells us that in all Khurāsān the *khutbah* continued to be read in the name of al-Ṭā'i' [القادر بالله] في جميع خراسان كانت الخطبة فيها للطائع لله (IX, 57, ll. 16-17). Later, in 383, al-Qādir held a reception for the Khurāsānian ḥājjs on their return from the pilgrimage and brought up with them the question of having the prayers offered in his name. They undertook to bear messages on the subject to Khurāsān (Rūdhrawari, 250, ll.15-17). Actually the Khurāsānians did not comply till Jumāda I, 389 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 103, ll.7-8) when Maḥmūd of Ghazna became master of Khurāsān and compelled them to abandon the names of al-Ṭā'i' and the Sāmānid in the *khutbah* and to recognize al-Qādir and himself. فازال عنها اسم السامانية وخطب فيها للقادر بالله وكان الى هذا الوقت لا يخطب له فيها (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 103, ll.17-19). Cf. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 351, l. 17-352, l.1: اما در خراسان .... بنام طائع خطبه ميخواندند .... تاجون سلطان محمود سبكتكين بر ان ملك مستولى شد و او با قادر خليفه مصادق بود بنام قادر خطبه خواندند. Numismatic evidence exists for this statement in Sāmānid and Ghaznawid coins, e. g.: Nisābūr, 383, Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (B. M. Add. i, no.417t); Farwān, 383, Subuktekīn (B. M. ii, no.452); Nisābūr, 384, Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (B. M. ii, no.418); mint effaced, 384, Subuktekīn (B. M. Add. i, no.452 l, m); Nisābūr, 385, Maḥmūd (B. M. ii, no. 458); mint effaced, 387, Subuktekīn (B. M. ii, no.453); Nisābūr, 389, Maḥmūd (B. M. Add. i, no.458k)<sup>1</sup>. (Cf. Edw. Thomas, "On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni", JRAS, 1848, pg. 272). Only two other Buyid mints betray this loyalty to al-Ṭā'i', Jurjān and Amul<sup>2</sup>; this is no doubt to be explained by the fact that no other Buyid mint cities came into such close contact with Khurāsān as did Rayy and the Jurjān capitals. Al-Ṭā'i' died in 393 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 124, ll.14-18).

On the grounds of the facts stated in the foregoing paragraph we now have no problem other than Zambaur's date 381, since it is clear that the coins could have been minted in 387 or 388, i. e. after the accession of Majd al-Dawlah, and still bear the name of al-Ṭā'i'. Any date after 388 is impossible, if we are to have confidence in an account of Rūdhrawari's, quoted below under no. 205, to the effect that in 388 abu-Ṭālib Rustam received from al-Qādir his official deeds of investiture, proving that by this year Rayy had renounc-

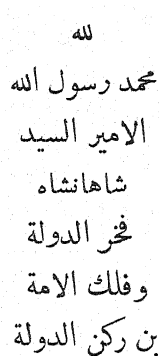
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zambaur, Contrib. III, pg.129, foot-note 26. M. Zambaur states that between 383 and 389 the Ghaznawid coins establish the fact that al-Ṭā'i' was recognized "dans tout l'Orient" as the legitimate Caliph. Another *ḍinār* of Nisābūr, 389 (Istanbul, IV, no.70, pg. 42) with the name of al-Qādir, is testimony to the change of allegiance in this year. It is, perhaps, a bit misleading to say "throughout the East".

<sup>2</sup> Jurjān, *Æ*, 387 or 388, and Amul, *Æ*, 388 (A. Markoff, О Кладѣ Куфическихъ Монетъ, etc., in Записки, Нумизматического Отдѣления имп. Рус. Археол. Общества, Vol. I, fasc. II-III, St. Petersburg, 1909, pg. 81, no.1 and no.2). No.1 has the caption "387", but the margin as transcribed has ٣٨٧. It is therefore impossible to tell whether the date is 387 or 388. In any case the obverse has al-Ṭā'i' and the reverse inscriptions are exactly as on no.202 B above. No.2 also has al-Ṭā'i' with reverse inscriptions again as no.202 B with the addition of the word عدل at the right and the same word at the left. These coins are strong arguments in favour of the attribution suggested for the Rayy issues under consideration.



ed al-Ṭā'i' and recognized the validity of al-Qādir's Caliphate. Zambaur did not question the date of his specimen, but in reference to the word above the obverse area, comparing it with Lane-Poole's, he wrote: "seul un exemplaire mieux conservé pourrait trancher cette question de détail" (loc. cit. pg.136). Perhaps the poor preservation applies to the date legend as well, but naturally one could not differ with the learned numismatist without examining the coin at first hand. I should not care to attribute the entire issue to the year 387 on the basis of the very poorly preserved specimen from the Rayy Excavations (RA 867, cited under no. 202 A), with... وسع... legible in the mint-date formula. When I catalogued the coin and copied its inscriptions, I noted these two words as the only ones preserved in the margin, but the photograph does not reveal them. However, when one examines a coin with a fine glass in the right light, words are often legible which leave no trace whatsoever in the photograph; and I would not be at all surprised if the date in question for all of these coins were 387, and that they represent the first issue of abu-Ṭālib Rustam on his accession at Rayy, before he had been given the title of Majd al-Dawlah.

203. R (billion). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 384.

Obv.	Rev.
	

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اربع وثمانين وثلثائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Zambaur, Contrib. I, no.105, pg. 87.

Zambaur did not transcribe the obverse area, but wrote "comme le précéd." The preceding coin is the Fakhr al-Dawlah *dirham* of 374, which of course bears the name of al-Ṭā'i'. No doubt the present issue has al-Ṭā'i' as well, but it is strange that the editor did not call attention to this sufficiently remarkable fact. For the presence of the name of al-Ṭā'i' on a coin minted after his deposition, cf. the discussion under no. 202 above.

It is interesting to note that the Daylamite army mutinied in the year 384 on account of the coinage, the high prices and the withholding of its pay. I am tempted to speculate whether the outrageous debasement of the silver in Buyid *dirhams* had anything to do with the mutiny. At this period the amount of alloy in the silver coinage is so great that one can hardly distinguish a *fals* from a *dirham* unless the word is preserved in the marginal

legend. The soldiers were promised improvement of the coinage and payment of their wages. (Rūdhrāwari, 250, l.18-251, l.2).  
وتردد القول بينهم الى ان وُعدوا بالاطلاق وتجويد النقد وسكنت الفتنة.

204. *AR* (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 387(?).

Cf. the conclusion of the discussion under no. 202 above.

205A. *A*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 389.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	الامير السيد
القادر بالله	محمد الدولة
	وكهف الامة ابو
	طالب بن فخر الدولة
	بن ركن الدولة
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة تسع وثمانين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

205B. *A*. Muḥammadiyah. Year 389.

Obverse as no.205 A, but without the pellet in the area and without the outer margin.

Reverse as no.205 A, but with the last three lines divided thus:

طالب بن فخر الدو  
لة بن ركن الدولة  
بويه

Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn.

205c. *AR*. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 389.

Not described except for the note "on the reverse, beneath, محمد" (for Majd al-Dawlah?).

Markoff, Supplement, no.40c, pg.984.

Note Majd al-Dawlah's protocol on nos.205 A and B: Al-Amīr al-Sayyid Majd al-Dawlah (The Glory of the State), Kahf al-Ummah (The Shelter of the People), abu-Tālib, son of Fakhr al-Dawlah, son of Rukn al-Dawlah, Buwayh. It was in the year 388 that the Caliph al-Qādir had given abu-Tālib a deed of investiture for Rayy and its dependencies, along with

other insignia and regal robes of honour. وعهد لابى طالب على الرى واعمالها وعقد له لواء وحمل (Rūdhrāwari, 311, ll.1-4). Cf. the discussion above, under no.202, for the importance of this passage in connection with the dating of the first coins of abu-Ṭālib Rustam<sup>1</sup>. This protocol is to be compared to that of the later issues of the same prince where, like his father, he employs Shāhānshāh in addition. It is to be remembered that during this period, when Majd al-Dawlah was only a child, and in fact throughout his troubled reign, the real ruler of al-Jibāl was his mother, al-Sayyidah.

Majd al-Dawlah had succeeded to the rule of Rayy in 387 (cf. the notes under no. 202 above). Fakhr al-Dawlah died in the castle of Ṭabarak. His treasury (I presume the money with which the troops should have been paid) was locked up, but it was impossible to get at the keys which were in the possession of his son abu-Ṭālib — strictly speaking, in the hands of his mother Sayyidah — and it was not found possible to get at the keys or even a winding-sheet for the corpse of Fakhr al-Dawlah because of serious rioting in the town itself which cut the people in Ṭabarak off from the rest of Rayy. Eventually the coffin and the money to pay the troops were lowered from the citadel with ropes. The description of these happenings is important in determining the relative positions of Ṭabarak and other parts of the city of Rayy (Rūdhrāwari, 296, l.8-297, l.5; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 93, ll.4-16; Mirkhwand, Buyids, 34, l.17-35, l.6).

In 388 Marzubān, the Ispahbad of Firīm, maternal uncle of Majd al-Dawlah, was commander of the Rayy troops (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 99, ll.20-21).

206A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 393.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	الامير السيد
القادر بالله	مجد الدولة
	وكهف الامة
	بن فخر الدولة
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ثلث وتسعين وثلاثمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Markoff, О Кладѣ Куфическихъ Монетъ, etc., pp.81-2, nos.3-4 (for full title see foot-note 2 on pg.175) describes two issues of al-Muḥammadiyah, A, year 389 with inscriptions as on no. 202 B above (no. 4 with the addition of the letter ح beneath the obverse). The passage from Rūdhrāwari, quoted above, coupled with the titles as they appear on the *dīnārs* of 389, nos. 205A and B, persuades me that Markoff's 389 should read 387. Perhaps the same remark applies to no. 205 C above, but the abbreviated form of the description in the Inventory precludes a positive opinion.

## 206B. Ⓐ (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 39X.

Obverse as no. 206 A, but with an  
obscure ornament above the area;

and الدرهم. Outer margin effaced,  
تسعين only of date preserved.

Reverse as no. 206 A, margin effaced.

(I have entered this coin here because of the similarity of the legends to those of no. 206 A.)

GCM.

(A *dirham* of al-Muḥammadiyah, year 393, was cited by Zambaur, Contrib. III, pg. 136, foot-note 40, with the remark that the coin was in the Bibliothèque Nationale. As there is to my knowledge no *dirham* of this year there, I am inclined to believe that inadvertently Zambaur wrote *dirham* for *dīnār* and that the coin to which he refers is the one I have described as no. 206 A.)

In 392 or 393, abu-al-ʿAbbās al-Ḍabbi (cf. note under no. 200 above) fled from Rayy to seek protection from Badr b. Ḥasanwayh, ruler of Kurdistān, who had begun to exercise an influence over the affairs of the city. The vizierate was then taken over by abu-ʿAlī al-Khaṭīr who was unsuccessfully challenged by the more official abu-Saʿd Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (Hilāl b. Muḥassin, 449, l.10-453, l.13; ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 126, ll.18-20).

In the year 390, the last Sāmānid ruler Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ al-Muntaṣir, hearing how internal disorder left Rayy unprotected, conducted a final Sāmānid campaign against the city, but retired without actually entering it (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 111, l.24-112, l.5).

## 207. Ⓐ (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 395.

Obv.	Rev.
شاه	الله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	الامير السيد
لا شريك له	شاهان شاه
القادر بالله	مجد الدولة
	وكهف الامة
	بن فخر الدولة
	بوية

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ... محمدية سنة ... وتسعين وثلاثمائة

Obv. outer margin: Traces of Qurʾān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Traces of Qurʾān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RG 2906.

208. Ɱ (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 397.

Obv.	Rev.
[?] بها	.....
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده لا شريك له	الامير السيد
القادر بالله	شمس الدولة
الدولة	ابوطاهر بن فخر الدولة
	وفلك الامة
	بن ركن الدولة
	بويه

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة سبع [?] وتسعين وثلثائة

Obv. outer margin: Traces of Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Traces of Qur'ān, IX, 33.

The words at the sides of obverse and reverse are in minuscule.

Johnston Coll., pg. 26 (not described); Paris, unpublished (my notes on this specimen are not detailed); ANS (date effaced).

The digit *seven* in the date on the Paris specimen appeared to me a little doubtful (the coin is actually assigned to 399, I believe, in the Cabinet des Médailles), but all doubt is removed after a study of the political events of the year 397, affecting Rayy. Majd al-Dawlah's mother, al-Sayyidah, so dominated her son that she completely controlled the government at Rayy, but the time came when she realized that the feeling had grown so strong against her that unless she brought physical force to bear, her position would be endangered. Hence in 397 she left the city, sought help from Badr b. Ḥasanwayh, and returned to Rayy. Majd al-Dawlah was captured and imprisoned; and al-Sayyidah placed her other son, Shams al-Dawlah, at the head of the government of the city. The latter remained in power approximately one year, at the end of which time the queen's attitude toward Majd al-Dawlah was mollified and she restored him to his kingdom. Shams al-Dawlah went back to Hamadhān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 144, 1.6-145, 1.2; cf. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 427, ll.1 ff.). The present coin with the name of Shams al-Dawlah abu-Ṭāhir b. Fakhr al-Dawlah, the date almost certainly 397, is again valuable evidence testifying to the usual accuracy of ibn-al-Athīr and his sources.

## 209A. A. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 398.

*Obv.* (within a hexagon)

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القادر بالله

*Rev.* (within a hexagon)

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الامير السيد  
شاهانشاه  
مجد الدولة  
وكهف الامة  
بن فخر الدولة  
بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* ثمان وتسعين وثلثائة بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. M. Add. i, no. 682f., pg. 263 (probably the same as that published by Guy Le Strange, Notes on Some Inedited Coins, JRAS, 1880, pp. 5-6 of the reprint) (Illustr., Pl. XIII).

Cf. no. 208 above. Majd al-Dawlah had been placed on the throne of Rayy again, "about a year" after his imprisonment. Here in 398 we find him once more minting coins in his name.

In 398 al-Sayyidah placed abu-Ja'far Dushmanzār Kākwayh (Muhammad b. Dushmanzār) over Iṣbahān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 146, ll. 10-12); he was later destined to play an important part in Rayy affairs and to occupy the city himself (cf. note under no. 217 below).

## 209x. R. Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 399.

Not described but listed under Shams al-Dawlah.

Johnston Coll., pg. 26.

## 210. R (billon). Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 400.

*Obv.*

خير  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القادر بالله  
الملك بها الدولة

*Rev.*

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
شاهانشاه  
مجد الدولة  
وكهف الامة  
بن فخر الدولة  
بويه



*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هـ ..... بالحمدية ..... بع مائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 450 (date and mint effaced but fabric similar to rest of hoard of which this coin was one); Rayy, 1935, RH 5485 (date effaced); RH 5532 (date and mint effaced).

211. Ⲁ (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year (40X, probably 401).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	شاهانشاه
لا شريك له	مجد الدولة
القادر بالله	وكهف الامة
	بن فخر الدولة
	بويه

(الملك بها الدولة is in minuscule)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالحمدية سنة ..... مائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 446-449 (four) coins, date effaced, one of which with the obverse almost completely effaced).

(Cf. the note after no. 214 on the attribution of this issue).

212. Ⲁ (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 402.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
مجد	لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	شاهانشاه
لا شريك له	مجد الدولة
القادر بالله	وكهف الامة
الملك بها الدولة	بن فخر الدولة

(الملك بها الدولة and مجد الدولة are in minuscule)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ائنتين واربع مائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 436-441 (six coins, four of which have the date preserved).

213. R (billon). Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 403.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
٢	الله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	شاهانشاه
اقبال لا شريك له	مجد الدولة
القادر بالله	وكهف الامة
الملك بها الدولة	بن فخر الدولة
	بن ركن الدولة
	بويه

(The words *الملك بها الدولة* and *اقبال* are in minuscule)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة ثلث واربع مائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 429-435 (seven coins, four of which fragmentary, date preserved on two).

The word in minuscule at the left of the area is either *اقبال* or *امثال*. The former would mean "equivalents", the latter "prosperity". Whatever the meaning, it is probably a "mark of genuineness". It is more probably *اقبال*, cf. no. 215 below.

Note that on nos. 210-213 inclusive Majd al-Dawlah recognized the suzerainty of his overlord and cousin, Bahā' al-Dawlah of Baghdād, but he has the latter's name inscribed in minuscule with no title save al-Malik. He himself appropriates six lines of an eight line reverse, giving his complete genealogy back to Rukn al-Dawlah and the forefather Buwayh (or Buyeh).

The year 403 is given by most authorities as the date of Bahā' al-Dawlah's death, but cf. no. 214 below (as well as *A*, 404, *Madinat al-Salām*, B. M. 11, no. 680, and *ANS*), which disproves this date. Ibn-al-Athir has the 5th (or 10th) of Jumāda II, 403 (*IX*, 169, ll. 16-24). Cf. abu-al-Fidā', (ed. Istanbul, 1286, II, 151, l.2; ed. Cairo, 1325, II, 143, l.23): 10th of Jumāda II, 403; Mirkhwand (*Buyids*, 41, ll.19-22): year 403. Zambaur and the *E. of I.* accept 403 without question. Only Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi is right (see below).

## 214. R (billon). Al-Muhammadiyah. Year 404.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	شاهنشاه
القادر بالله	مجد الدولة
الملك بها الدولة	وكهف الامة
	بن فخر الدولة
	بويه

(The name الملك بها الدولة is in minuscule.)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اربع واربعائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 442-445 (four coins, date preserved on three).

Note that on this issue Bahā' al-Dawlah as well as Majd al-Dawlah bears the title Shāhānshāh.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note on the death of Bahā' al-Dawlah under no.213 above. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi gives us what we may assume to be the correct date in view of the present issue: Rabi' I, 404 (Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 430, ll.14-15). This issue therefore was minted within the first three months of the year.

(I must add a note on the attribution of the coins described under no.211 above to the year 401: the date is effaced but in style, fabric and legends these specimens are similar to the issues of 400, 402, 403 and 404, and they were found in the same hoard. Since there are minor differences in the legends, these coins cannot be assigned to one or other of the entries nos. 210, 212, 213 or 214; but they must represent another die of one of these years or else an issue of the year 401. To assign them to the year 401 seems to me quite justifiable. Note especially that the die lacks Shāhānshāh on the obverse with Bahā' al-Dawlah, as do the issues of the years 400, 402 and 403. A different fabric is introduced in the year 405 (?) (cf. no. 215 below), and besides we cannot put the issue later than 404 if we accept this year as the date of Bahā' al-Dawlah's death).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the footnote under no.198 above.

215A. R (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 405 (?).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
القادر بالله	مجد الدولة
(at the right is in minuscule. It is more probably اقبال than امثال, as the second letter looks more like ق/ف than م.)	..... الامة
	..... الدولة
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة خمس [sic?] واربعمائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

GCM.

In the year 405, after the provinces possessed by Badr b. Ḥasanwayh, who was killed in this year, had been appropriated by Shams al-Dawlah, the latter, acting on an impulse occasioned by his increased dignity, marched on Rayy and caused Majd al-Dawlah and his mother to flee to Damāwand. The Rayy army at first went over to Shams al-Dawlah and then revolted, and Shams al-Dawlah returned to Hamadhān, whence he sent a message to his brother and al-Sayyidah to go back to Rayy. This they did (ibn-al-Athir, IX, 175, ll.13-20). Shams al-Dawlah's occupation could not have been long, and the present coin, if the date 405 is correctly read, may have been struck at any time of the year.

215x. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 406.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا الله	قل هو
محمد رسول الله	الله احد الله
على ولي الله	الصمد لم يلد و
حرسه هو الله	لم يولد ولم يكن
	له كفوا احد

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار [sic] بالمحمدية سنة ست واربعمائة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

S. Lane Poole, Unpublished Arabic Coins from the Collection of the Rev. T. Calvert, N. C., New Ser., XIX, 1879, pp. 77-78, illustr. Pl. III, no. 2; Johnston Coll., pg. 27 (no description).

Lane-Poole pointed out that there were no traces of gilding to account for the use of the word *dīnār*, and also noted the peculiarity in the presence of the superfluous pronoun in حَرَسَهُ هُوَ اللَّهُ. He listed the coin as being struck by an "Alawi prince". The use of the Shī'ite formula at this time is extraordinary; of course it is well known that the Buyid princes had strong Shī'ite leanings, but they did not announce their heterodoxy on their coinage. Could the coin have anything to do with the brief revolt of Shawkat b. Fulādh which took place about this time (related under the year 407, ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 187-188)?

216. Ɱ (billon). Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 407.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	لله
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <span>الله وحده</span> <span>لا شريك له</span> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <span>محمد رسول الله</span> <span>الامير ....</span> </div>
القادر بالله	شاهانشاه
	مجد الدولة
	وكهف الامة
	بن فخر الدولة
	بويه

*Obv. inner margin:* ..... بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمّدية سنة سبع وار

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

GCM.

This is the last of the dated Buyid coins of al-Muḥammadiyah that has come to my attention. A coin from the Rayy Excavations, (RH 6454, Ɱ, billon, al-Muḥammadiyah) with date completely effaced, with the reverse inscriptions: || شاهانشاه || محمد رسول الله || and with al-Qādir bi-allāh (but not Bahā' al-Dawlah) on the obverse, cannot be assigned to any of the above issues, but it is probably to be dated some time after 407.

## VII. THE GHAZNAWID PERIOD

217A. R. Al-Rayy. Year 420.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	لله ○ لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	القادر بالله
لا شريك له	يمين الدولة
يمينى	محمود

(*وامين الملة محمود* and *لله ○ لله* are written in minuscule.)

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة عشرين واربعائة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 455, pg.132.

217B. A. Al-Rayy. Year 420.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
fleuron	لله
عدل	محمد
لا اله الا	رسول الله
الله يمين الدو	القادر بالله
لة وامين الملة	مسعود
ابو القاسم	
محمود	

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة عشرين واربعائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

R. Cotteville-Giraudet, Monnaies Musulmanes et Sassanides, in Demareteion, ed. J. Babelon, Paris, 1935, Vol. 1, no.1, pp.11-12 (illustr., fig. 2, pg. 13, almost entirely illegible); this is one of the two *dīnārs*, of two dies, in the Cabinet des Médailles.



## 217c. R. Al-Rayy. Year 420.

*Obv.*

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
يمين الدولة  
وامين الملة  
ابو القاسم

*Rev.*

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
مسعود

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة عشرين واربعائة*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 456, pg.132.

## 217d. R. Al-Rayy. Year 420 (?).

*Obv.*

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
يمين الدولة  
وامين الملة  
ابو القاسم محمود

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
مسعود

*Obv. margin:* ... هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة ع*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 75, pg.422 (illustr., Pl. XV, fig.16).

Abu-Ja'far Muḥammad b. Kākwayh, 'Alā' al-Dawlah (cf. note under no. 209 above) came to Rayy in 418, after fighting had taken place between Majd al-Dawlah and Minū-chihr b. Qābūs (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 252, ll.3-24). Till now, Majd al-Dawlah's energetic mother al-Sayyidah, had somewhat preserved the integrity of Rayy, and, if we are to believe a popular and picturesque story of her correspondence with Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, it was her diplomacy that fended off the Ghaznavid capture of Rayy till the year 420. (Mirkhwand, Buyids, 42, l.18-43, l.12). But she died in 419 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 260; cf. Browne, Literary History, II, 160).<sup>1</sup> In Rab' II, 420, Rayy fell to Maḥmūd, Majd al-Dawlah was taken captive, scolded by Maḥmūd for his bookishness and his dalliance with women, and sent off as a prisoner to Khurāsān together with many of the Mu'tazilites at Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 261, l.9-262, l.20; Mirkhwand, Buyids, 43, l.12-44, l.19). Maḥmūd then returned to Khurāsān himself, leaving his son Mas'ūd to govern Rayy and most of its dependencies "as far as the borders of Armenia". Mas'ūd proceeded to take Iṣbahān from 'Alā' al-Dawlah and then returned to Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 362, ll.15-20).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Minorsky, op. cit. (pg.145), pg.15; 410 as the date of al-Sayyidah's death is an error.

Mas'ūd was also occupied with the curtailment of the activities of al-Salār Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān, who at the time had control of Qazwīn, Zanjān, Abhar and other places in western al-Jibāl (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 262, 1.21-263, 1.19).

No. 217 A was probably struck before Mas'ūd's appointment as governor of al-Jibāl. It bears the name of Maḥmūd alone, with his *laqabs*: Yamīn al-Dawlah and Amīn al-Millāh, and the adjective *yamīnī*. Nos. 217, B, C, and D are inscribed with the names of both father and son. To Maḥmūd's usual titles is now added his *kunya*h abu-al-Qāsim, while Mas'ūd is simply called Mas'ūd without any titles whatsoever.

It apparently needed a major upheaval like this of the fall of the city to the Ghaznawids to abolish for good and all the now long since meaningless name, al-Muḥammadiyah, from the coins of the Rayy mint. Henceforth, with the exception of the coins of 'Alā' al-Dawlah in 421, 424(?), 429 and 432 (cf. nos. 218 B, 219, 221 A, and 222 A, below), the old name Rayy, which was always the name of the city in the mouths of the people and in the pages of the historians, was exclusively used by Ghaznawids, Seljūqs and the Ilkhānid Mongols. (Cf. nos. 50 and 51 above.)

218A. R. Al-Rayy. Year 421.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	له
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله يمين	القادر بالله
الدولة	مسعود
ابو القاسم	
محمود	

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالري سنة احدى وعشرين واربعائة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 457, pg. 133.

218B. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 421.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
العاذل	له
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	عبد الدين
القادر بالله	علاء الدولة
محمد بن دشمنزار	وفخر الملة
	وتاج الامة
	ابو جعفر

*Obv. inner margin:* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالْحَمْدِ سَنَةَ إِحْدَى وَعَشْرِينَ وَارْبَعَمِائَةَ

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished. (Another is known but I have not seen the description of it: Siouffi, Tables, Janvier, 1880, referred to by Zambaur, Contrib. III, pg.145, footnote 66, "very doubtful" in Zambaur's opinion).

218c. R. Al-Rayy. Year 421(?).

*Obv.*

*Rev.*

عَدَل

لِلَّهِ

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا

مُحَمَّدٌ

اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ

رَسُولَ اللَّهِ

لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ

عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

الْقَادِرُ بِاللَّهِ (minuscule)

مَسْعُودٌ

(Point beneath ب, first line.)

*Obv. margin:* ..... [very indistinct] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِالرَّيِّ

(*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4 ?)

Bartholomae à Soret, I, no. 76, pg. 423.

No. 218 A is comparable to the issues of the year 420 with the names of Maḥmūd as ruler and Mas'ūd as governor. Maḥmūd calls himself Yamīn al-Dawlah as well as by his own name Maḥmūd. Mas'ūd again bears no titles. Sulṭān Maḥmūd died on the 11th of Ṣafar or in Rabi' II, 421 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 281, ll.5-8; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 401, ll. 11-12, no month; ibn-Khallikān, 11th of Ṣafar, cf. Zambaur, Manuel), so we can conclude that this issue was minted within the first four months of the year.

The following events explain the existence of a Kākwayhid coin struck at Rayy in 421 (no. 218 B): when Maḥmūd died, Mas'ūd was in Iṣbahān, where he had gone to take both that city and Hamadhān from 'Alā' al-Dawlah abu-Ja'far Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār (cf. also notes under nos. 209 and 217); at the news of his father's death he went out to Khurāsān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 279, ll.2-13; 281, ll.22-23). Mas'ūd's absence gave 'Alā' al-Dawlah the opportunity to return from Khuzistān whither he had fled, and to reoccupy Hamadhān and Iṣbahān. His next goal was Rayy which he captured presumably from Mas'ūd's lieutenant (cf. note under no. 222 below), then proceeding to invade a part of the lands belonging at the time to Anūshirwān, son of Minūchihr son of Qābūs, including Khwār-al-Rayy and Damāwand. Anūshirwān appealed to Ma'sūd for help; and Mas'ūd, who had by this time returned to Iṣbahān to put down the rebellion, came back to Rayy. 'Alā' al-Dawlah was then driven out of Rayy with the aid of Tāsh-Farāsh, a general of Mas'ūd's (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 267, ll.13-15, 20-21); and the inhabitants of the city as well as Anūshirwān's followers pronounced Mas'ūd's name in the *khutbah* (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 281, l.21-282, l.7; 284, l.7-285, l.8). No. 218 B is evidence of 'Alā' al-Dawlah's brief lordship over Rayy. His titles on the coin are many: Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, abu-

Ja'far, the Support of The Religion, the Grandeur of the State, the Glory of the Nation, the Crown of the People (cf. also nos. 219 and 221 below).

Finally, no. 218 C, if it were authentically dated and the reading of the inscriptions reliable (which I doubt), would give us the necessary testimony to Mas'ūd's reestablishment at Rayy, after his father's death and after the Kākwayhid occupation. In the inscriptions as copied, Maḥmūd's name does not appear. On this account I have placed the coin at the end of the series of three issues of the year 421.

Sometime during this year, or perhaps in 422, Mas'ūd wrote to his brother Muḥammad telling him he did not himself desire to rule all the lands which their father had conquered, but that he would be content with what he had personally brought under his control, i. e. al-Jibāl, Ṭabaristān, Iṣbahān, etc. He asked only that Muḥammad allow his (Mas'ūd's) name to be read as the principal one in the *khutbah* (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 281, 1.21-282, 1.7). Rayy was exposed to another attack about this time, but succeeded in defending itself. The attacker was Shahriyūsh(?), lord of Sāwah and Qumm (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 292, 11.10-13).

#### 219. R. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 424.

A reported *dirham* of the Kākwayhids was published in Siouffi, Tables, Janvier, 1880, according to Zambaur, Contrib. III, pg.145, foot-note 66. Zambaur considered it and the 421 Kākwayhid issue "très douteux", but he had not seen the Paris specimen, which vindicates the 421 entry in Siouffi. On purely historical grounds, — and having no numismatic knowledge of the supposed issue, I can only argue from the written historical sources, — there is some possible justification for accepting the authenticity of the Siouffi coin of 424 as well. See the argument below.

By the 8th of Jumāda II, 422, Mas'ūd was back in Ghazna where he received the homage of the assembled rulers of al-Hind, al-Sind, Sijistān, Kirmān, Makrān, Rayy, Iṣbahān, the mountain country (Bilād al-Jabal) and other lands (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 283, 11.6-11). In the same year Mas'ūd entrusted the government of Rayy, al-Jibāl and Hamadhān to Tāsh-Farāsh (cf. the note under no.218 above), who proved to be a corrupt administrator (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 287, 11.10-13). Then we learn that in 424 Mas'ūd recognized the right of 'Alā' al-Dawlah (the Kākwayhid) to govern in Iṣbahān; and of Minūchihr b. Qābūs b. Washmgīr in Jurjān and Ṭabaristān. To Rayy he sent abu-Sahl al-Ḥamdūni as governor, replacing Tāsh-Farāsh who had made life miserable for the inhabitants. Rayy bloomed again, ibn-al-Athīr says, when abu-Sahl came to Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 291, 1.19-292, 1.7). At this point, — I gather that it was in the year 424, — there was an opening for 'Alā' al-Dawlah, for the Ghuzz tribes in their march westward, plundered Rayy, ejected abu-Sahl, and then abandoned the city, hurrying on to Adharbayjān. The Kākwayhid, hearing that the Ghuzz had left and that the city was exposed, again played free and easy with the suzerainty of Mas'ūd and went to Rayy where he had a rather stormy time of it with certain of the generals from Khurāsān and some of the Ghuzz whom he had enlisted. During this brief period 'Alā' al-Dawlah might have struck the 424 *dirham* of al-Muḥammadiyah. But when the trouble with the Ghuzz and the army became intolerable, he wrote to abu-Sahl with whom he agreed that Rayy should again be placed under the allegiance of Mas'ūd. The Kākwayhid stayed on in the city, but apparently as a Ghaznawid servant (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 269, 11.1-15).

## 220. R. Al-Rayy. Year 425.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	*
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	القائم بامر الله
	مسعود

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرى سنة خمس وعشرين واربعائة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 459, pg. 133.

Al Qā'im bi-amr-allāh had succeeded al-Qādir in the Caliphate in 422 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 282, ll. 20ff.). The fact that Mas'ūd had reasserted his authority over Rayy is attested by this coin. Again Mas'ūd's name is unaccompanied by any titles.

It is not surprising to find that, in this year 425, the irrepressible Kākwayhid 'Alā' al-Dawlah rebelled once more against Mas'ūd's authority, this time with the cooperation of Farhād b. Mardāwīch. Both were defeated by the general abu-Sahl al-Ḥamdūni (cf. the note under no. 219 above), in a battle between Iṣbahān and Jurbādhaqān (Gulpaygān). 'Alā' al-Dawlah was driven out of Iṣbahān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 296, l. 18-297, l. 8). But we have not yet seen the last of 'Alā' al-Dawlah at Rayy.

## 221A. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 429.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	الله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله القائم	رسول الله
بامر الله	محمد بن
مسعود	دشمنزار

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة تسع وعشرين واربعائة

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

S. Lane-Poole, Unpublished Coins of the Kākweyhis, N. C., 1875, no. 9 (Guthrie Collection), pp. 236-237; Berlin, unpublished, "Guthrie, 1876" (is this the same coin as that published by Lane-Poole?).



221b. R. (Al-Muḥammadiyah?). Year 429(?).

*Obv.*

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
القائم بامر الله  
مسعود

*Rev.*

(?) followed by the rest of Surah  
CXII in the area, and at the bottom:  
محمد بن دشمنزار

*Obv margin:* mostly effaced; the digit ends in ع, i. e. either تسع or سبع or اربع.  
Paris, unpublished.

In these issues (no. 221 B may not be a coin of Rayy and may not be 429, but it probably is) we at last have Mas'ūd the Ghaznawid and 'Alā' al-Dawlah, Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, the Kākwayhid, in harmony (cf. the preceding issues and notes). How and when the reconciliation took place I do not know, as the chronicles give us no clue. In 427 abu-Sahl al-Ḥamdūni (cf. the notes under nos. 219 and 220 above), with the Ghaznawid army, had been at war again with 'Alā' al-Dawlah over Iṣbahān. The Kākwayhid had been defeated and the last we hear of him before 429 is that he fled to Burūjird and thence to al-Ṭarum (probably al-Ṭarum of al-Jibāl, not of Fārs), where he was not welcomed by al-Salār who declared that he was not strong enough to face the army of Khurāsān, فترکه وسار, but where did ibn-Dushmanzār go? (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 304, ll.1-10). In Zambaur's Manuel, pg. 45, 'Alā' al-Dawlah is listed as governor of Rayy in 427 with the indication that the source of the knowledge is a coin. In his Contributions III, pg. 145, however, he lists the Lane-Poole *dīnār* as of the date 429. Is the coin referred to in the Manuel the *dīnār* published by Lane-Poole? If so, did Zambaur inadvertently copy 427 for 429? Or did he correct 429 to 427? If so, why? In the list of governors, the year 429 is not mentioned although he was familiar with Lane-Poole's monograph. Is there a published 427/429 coin other than that edited by Lane-Poole? I do not know of any. I am inclined to believe that in preparing the lists for the Manuel, Zambaur or the printer miscopied, and 427 should read 429.

222a. A. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 432.

*Obv.*

شرف  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
شرف الملوك  
ابو كاليجار

*Rev.*

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
شاهانشاه  
فخر دين الله  
بن مجد الدولة  
بويه



*Obv. margin*: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة اثنيتين وثلاثين واربع مائة:

*Rev. margin*: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

222B. A. Al-Rayy. Year 432.

Obverse not described in full, but beneath the area:

القائم بأمر الله  
أبو طالب

Reverse also not described in full, but with the inscriptions:

الامير السيد طغرل بك محمد بن ميكائيل

Ch. M. Fraehn, Über einige merkwürdige Inedita unter den von Hn. Obrist-Lieutenant Wosoboinikow in Persien angesammelten Münzen, Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Tome IV, 1848, col. 45, no. 4.

No. 222 A is material for a monograph in itself. For the moment I can only suggest the identification of the personage who struck the issue. It was Majd al-Dawlah's son, abu-Kālījār Fanā-Khosraw, with the unrecorded titles, Sharaf al-Mulūk (the Dignity of the Kings), Fakhr Dīn-Allāh (the Glory of the Religion of Allāh), and King of Kings. He had, in 421, after Sulṭān Maḥmūd's death attempted to take Rayy from the lieutenant of Mas'ūd who had been left to guard the city, but was defeated and driven off.

لما مات محمود سبكتكين طمع فنا خسرو بن مجد الدولة ابن بويه في الري وكان قد هرب منها لما ملكها عسكر يمين الدولة محمود فقصد قصران وهي حصينة فامتنع بها فلما توفي يمين الدولة وعاد ابنه مسعود الى خراسان جمع هذا [sic] فنا خسرو جمعاً من الديلم والاكراذ وغيرهم وقصدوا الري فخرج اليه نائب مسعود بها ومن معه من العسكر فقاتلوه فانهمز منهم وعاد الى بلده وقتل جماعة من عسكره (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 284, ll. 7-14). He was with the Ghuzz when they sacked Hamadhān in the year 430 (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 270-271, where he is simply called Fanā-Khosraw b. Majd al-Dawlah). Finally, we hear of him in the year 439, when he seized Āmid from Toghri Beg's guard: وفيها جمع الامير ابو كاليجار فنا خسرو بن مجد الدولة بن بويه جمعاً وسار الى آمد فدخلها وساعده اهله وواقع بمن كان فيها من اصحاب طغرل بك فقتل واسر وعرف طغرل بك ذلك فسار عن الري قاصداً اليه (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 370, ll. 8-11). I find no record of his having been ruler of Rayy in 432, but the coin is abundant testimony to the fact. Probably he struck the *dīnār* after the death of Qizil, the Amīr of the Ghuzz of al-ʿIrāq (العراقية), who was stationed at Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 338, ll. 15-16). Abu-Kālījār was apparently in possession of the Qal'ah Ṭabarak at Rayy when Toghri Beg arrived (cf. the note under no. 223 below).

As for no.222 B, a Seljūq *dīnār*, I find it difficult to believe that the date reading can be correct, in spite of the eminence of the authority. The year 433 would be possible, but to accept the reading 432 would require too drastic alterations in the accepted chronology of the Seljūq conquest, not only of Rayy but of the surrounding regions as well. It is curious to note that Dorn, usually meticulous, gave 433 as the date of this coin (Nova Supplementa, Cl. XII, no. aa, 1, pg. 265), referring to Fraehn's original publication, but not mentioning Fraehn's reading of 432. That Fraehn's 432 is not a typographical error is clear from a later reference of his to the same coin (Die Inedita einer neuen, der numismatischen Abtheilung des Asiatischen Museums aus Persien gewordenen Accession, Bulletin, etc., Tome IV, col. 252, no.31) where he again gives 432. I suggest the possibility that Dorn reread the coin and decided on 433, but it is surprising that he should not have noted that Fraehn read it 432.

# VIII. THE SELJŪQ PERIOD

223. A. Al-Rayy. Year 434.

*Obv.*



لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ابو طالب

*Rev.*



محمد رسول الله  
الامير السيد  
طغرل بك  
محمد بن ميكائيل

(Toghril Beg's personal name, Muḥammad, is written in Naskhi, but his father's name in Kufic as usual.)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرّى سنة اربع وثلثين واربعائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

This rare *dīnār* is the first Seljūq issue of the Rayy mint which I can accept as authentic (cf. no. 222 B above). During the reigns of Toghril Beg, Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, beautiful *dīnārs* were minted at Rayy and elsewhere; unfortunately, as the Empire began to decline, the art and quality of the coinage declined with it, and in the later Seljūq days there is almost nothing on which to base the numismatic history of the city. But during the flourishing of the great new rule, the Seljūqs of the East (Khurāsān) are well documented, though specimens of the coinage are rare. The symbols above the obverse and reverse areas have been taken to represent Toghril's bow and arrow. H. Nützel (*Embleme und Wappen auf muhammedanischen Münzen*, in *Festschrift . . . der Numismatischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1893) called them arms (*Wappen*) or a sort of *tamgha*.

Before the Seljūq conquest of Rayy, abu-Kālījār Karshasf (Gershasp), after the death of his father, 'Alā' al-Dawlah in 433 (ibn-al-Athīr IX, 338, 1.20-339, 1.2), mastered Nihāwand and from there brought the other districts of al-Jibāl to his allegiance (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 339, 11.2-4). In the same year, however, the Seljūq Yannāl Ibrāhīm arrived at Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 339, 11.21-22; 347, 11.6-7); and in 434, the date of the present Seljūq issue, Toghril Beg himself came to Rayy, after his conquests of Khwārizm, Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, and received the city from his brother (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 347, 1.21-349, 1.12). He also took the fortress of Ṭabarak from Majd al-Dawlah, according to the account

in ibn-al-Athīr, but this is surely a mistake for "the son of Majd al-Dawlah", i. e. abu-Kālijār Fanā-Khosraw whose presence at Rayy in 432 is attested by the coin no. 222 A above, q. v. Toghrih then ordered the rebuilding of the city which had suffered so much in these troubled years (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 347, 1.25-348, 1.1). It was of course at Rayy that Toghrih made his residence.

224. A. Al-Rayy. Year 435.

Obv.



لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ابو طالب

Rev.



محمد رسول الله  
الامير السيد  
طغرلبك  
محمد بن ميكائيل

(محمد, last line, is written in Naskhi.)

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة خمس وثلثين واربعائة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

Note the continuation of the use at Rayy of the simple title Al-Amīr al-Sayyid, although already in 434 Toghrih was being styled al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam at Işbahān.

In this year the Caliph al-Qā'im sent an emissary to Toghrih ordering peace between the latter and the Buyid Jalāl al-Dawlah (this was before the Amīr al-Umarā's death which occurred in the same year, ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 352, ll.19ff.). The emissary returned to the Caliph in 436 with the news of Toghrih's "obedience" (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 357, ll.13-19).

225. A. Al-Rayy. Year 437.

Obv.



لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ابو طالب

Rev.



محمد رسول الله  
الامير السيد  
طغرلبك  
محمد بن ميكائيل

(My notes do not show whether the *kalimah* is on two or three lines.)

(I failed to note whether محمد on the last line is in Naskhi or in Kufic.)

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة سبع وثلثين واربعائة

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

In 436 abu-Kālījār Gershasp (cf. the note under no. 223 above) recaptured Hamadhān from the Seljūq garrison (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 359, ll.9-11). The following year Ṭoghril ordered Yannāl against Hamadhān, and Gershasp was forced to flee to the Kurds of al-Jūzaqān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 360, ll.10ff.). Also in the year 436, the *khutbah* was read in Baghdād in the name of abu-Kālījār al-Marzubān, the successor of the Buyid Jalāl al-Dawlah (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 358, ll.12ff.).

226. A. Al-Rayy. Year 438.

Obv.

۲۸

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القائم بامر الله

Rev.

۲۸

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

طغرلبك

ابو طالب

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري سنة ثمان وثلاثين واربعائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Bartholomae à Soret, II, Rev. Num. Belge, 1861, no. 16, pp. 36-37; Markoff, Supplement, no. 00, pg. 931 (not described); GCM.

Note the change of Ṭoghril's titles to: Al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Shāhānshāh Ṭoghril Beg abu-Ṭālib, and the dropping of his father's name Mikā'il. Ṭoghril was busy this year among other things with the siege of Iṣbahān, where abu-Manṣūr Farāmarz b. 'Alā' al-Dawlah was holding out (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 365, ll.1-5).

227. A. Al-Rayy. Year 439(?).

A *dīnār* in Paris, unnumbered, attributed to the year 439, with inscriptions as on no. 225, year 437, is, I think, more probably 437 also. It is very unlikely, in my opinion, that the new honorifics adopted at Rayy in 438 would be given up in the following year to return to the simplicity of the earlier issues.

In 439 peace was achieved between Ṭoghril Beg and the Kākwayhid abu-Kālījār Gershasp. Ṭoghril married the latter's daughter, and abu-Kālījār's son, abu-Manṣūr, married a daughter of Chaghri Beg Dāwūd, Ṭoghril's brother (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 439, ll.19-440, l.2).

## 228. A/. Al-Rayy. Year 440.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القائم بامر الله (minuscule)

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

طغرلبك

ابو طالب (minuscule)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري سنة اربعين واربعائة*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Casanova, no. 1154, pg. 50 (not described); Johnston Coll., pg. 27 (2 specimens, not described); Markoff, no. 1, pg. 368 (not described); Sauvage à Soret, no. 2, pp. 446-447 (Stickel ZDMG, 1864, pg. 299); B. M., unpublished, 1906/12/4, no. 322; Paris, unpublished; ANS (two specimens).

The last Buyid, al-Malik al-Raḥīm, succeeded to the rule in Baghdād in this year on the death of abu-Kālījār al-Marzubān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 373, ll. 9ff.).

## 229. A/. Al-Rayy. Year 444.

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القائم بامر الله

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

طغرلبك

ابو طالب (minuscule)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري سنة اربع واربعائة*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Markoff, Supplement, no. 1a, pg. 931 (not described); Sauvage à Soret, no. 9, pg. 450 (Stickel, ZDMG, 1864, pg. 299); Berlin, unpublished, "Guthrie, 1876"; ANS; GCM.

In Muḥarram, 443, Toghrih Beg made a final conquest of Iṣbahān and carried off its treasury to Rayy (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 384, l. 18-385, l. 15; 398, l. 7). Toghrih sent gifts to the Caliph thanking him for the honours the latter had bestowed upon him (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 397, l. 20-398, l. 3). The addition of the title Rukn al-Dīn on the coins of Nīsābūr in the year 442 may have some bearing on this.



Abu-Kālījār Gershasp died in 443, and al-Ahwāz, where his death took place, then read the *khutbah* in the name of the Buyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 398, ll. 7-10).

230. A. Al-Rayy. Year 445.

Obv.	Rev.
	

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة خمس واربعين واربعائة

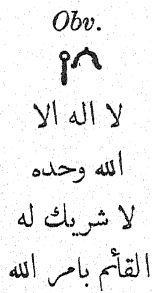
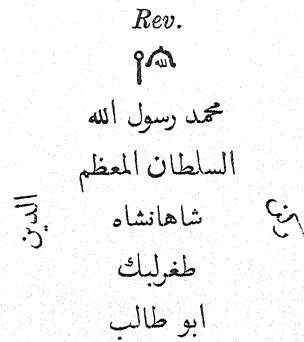
Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Markoff, Supplement, no.1b, pg. 931 (not described); Johnston Coll., pg.27 (not described); B. M., unpublished, 1906/12/4, no. 321; Paris, unpublished.

Toghril Beg is reported to have been on good terms with the Buyid, al-Malik al-Raḥīm (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 407, ll.20-26).

231. A. Al-Rayy. Year 447.

Obv.	Rev.
	

(ركن الدين is engraved in minuscule)

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة سبع واربعين واربعائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Aḥmed Zia, Meskūkāt-i-Islāmiyyeh Taqvīmi, Istanbul, 1910, no. 1845; B.M. iii, no.56 (the hundred is written اربعمائة), no. 57; Istanbul, iv (Aḥmed Tevhīd, Qusṭantīniyyah, 1321)

no.85 (illustr. Pl.II), and one unnumbered; Johnston Coll., pg.27 (2 specimens, not described); Berlin, unpublished, no. 25/1873; Paris, two unpublished; Wien, unnumbered; ANS (clipped).

In the year 446 Toghrih Beg occupied Adharbayjān (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 410–411), returned to Rayy, and, in Muḥarram, 447, travelled to Hamadhān, and thence to Baghdād, where the *khutbah* was read in the pulpit in his name on Friday, the 22nd of Ramaḍān, i. e. December 15, 1055 A.D. (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 418, 1.6–419, 1.23).

232. R. (Al-Rayy ?) Year 450.

Obv.

نصر  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
.....

Rev.

محمد رسول الله  
شاهانشاه  
طغرلبك

Obv. margin: سنة خمسين وأربع مائة .....

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.



Zambaur, Contrib. III, no. 476, pg. 147 (illustr. pg. 147).

Actually, the mint is effaced. But Zambaur argued that the metal and execution were similar to those of the Ghaznawid *dirhams* of Rayy minted in 420 and 425 (cf. nos. 217 A, 217 C, and 220 above), and that this coin and the Ghaznawid *dirhams* were found near Teheran, and therefore the mint should be Rayy. Consequently he does not question the mint in the caption to the description of the coin, and writes, "On ne connaissait, jusqu'à présent, que des *dinārs* seldjoucides de Rayy" (loc. cit.). Further, in a note on the revolt of al-Basāsiri at Baghdād, he writes of Toghrih's being at Rayy: "Un joli document épigraphique de la présence de Toghrih à Rayy en 450 est fourni par mon dirhem no. 476" (loc. cit. pg. 166). The *dirham* may well be of the Rayy mint, but in my opinion these reasons are hardly sufficient for definitely attributing the *dirham* to Rayy. In 1935 there were found in the Citadel (Ṭabarak) excavations at Rayy both Ghaznawid and Seljūq (Toghrih Beg) *dirhams*, in style very similar to the Seljūq *dirham* of Zambaur's. (To the similarity of the quality of the metal of course I cannot testify.) On two of these *dirhams* of Toghrih Beg's the mints were preserved: Nisābūr and Jurjān. (The mints were effaced on all the Ghaznawid *dirhams* of the Citadel find, with the exception of one which was Balkh). (Cf. the description of the numismatics of the Rayy Expedition, 1935, field nos. rci 3632–3647.)

In 450 the last Buyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm died in the fortress of Ṭabarak at Rayy where Toghrih Beg had imprisoned him (ibn-al-Athīr, IX, 448, ll.21–23; cf. Browne, Literary History, II, pp.169–170).

## 233. A. Al-Rayy. Year 452.

My notes on the coin are incomplete, but I believe the following is substantially correct:

Obv.	Rev.
	
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	السلطان المعظم
لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
القائم بامر الله	طغرلبك ابوطالب
	(الدولة and ركن at the sides?)

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري سنة اثنين وخمسين واربعائة



Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

Toghril's wife died in this year in Zanjān; she was buried at Rayy. Toghril mourned her greatly (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 8, ll. 7-9).

## 234. A. Al-Rayy. Year 453.

Obv.	Rev.
	
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	السلطان المعظم
لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
القائم بامر الله	طغرلبك
	*

The words right and left of the obverse and reverse are in minuscule.

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري سنة ثلث وخمسين واربعائة

(The first part of the mint formula is almost cryptically written.)

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Johnston Coll., pg. 27 (not described); B. M. unpublished, 1906/12/4, no. 320; ANS (without star).

235. *A. Al-Rayy. Year 455(?)*.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	الله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	السلطان المعظم
لا شريك ل	شاهانشاه
القائم بامر الله	ملك الاسلام
	البارسلان

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضر... دينار بالرى سنة خمس [؟] اربعائة .....  
(*Obv. outer margin ?*)

Fraehn, *Recensio*, Supp. Cl. XII, no. b, 1, pg. 605 (Fraehn himself questions the date, either 455 or 456, sic.).

Ṭoghrl Beg had in 454 made a marriage pact at Baghdād with the Caliph's daughter. He left Baghdād in Rabī' I, 455, and returned to Rayy where the wedding celebrations were cut short by his death on the 8th of Ramaḍān (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 12, 1.14-14, 1.15; 15, 1.16-17, 1.22; cf. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 439, ll.1-2; Rāwandī, 112, ll.3-4, day of month not given; Bundāri, 26, 1.14; Akhbār al-Dawlah, 21, 1.18-22, 1.2; Mirkhwand, Seljūqs, 65). His successor, the second of the great Seljūqs, was Alp Arslān. Note his *laqab* Malik al-Islām, corresponding to Ṭoghrl's Rukn al-Dīn. Otherwise, he uses the same titles which his uncle had used.

236. *A. Al-Rayy. Year 456(?)*.

A *dīnār* in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, unnumbered. The date 456 attributed to it is exceedingly doubtful. Cf. the inscriptions on no. 235 above.

Qutulmish, a cousin of Alp Arslān's and father of Sulaymān who is generally counted the founder of the Seljūq kingdom of al-Rūm (Anatolia), revolted and headed towards Rayy. Alp Arslān, who had been campaigning in the East, set out against him on the 1st of Muḥarram 456 from Nisābūr. Qutulmish plundered the villages of Rayy but got no further, and Alp Arslān entered the city at the end of Muḥarram, leaving it again on the 1st of Rabī' I to pursue his campaign in Adharbayjān and al-Rūm (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 23, 1.17-24, 1.19; 25, ll.1 and ff.).

## 237A. A. Al-Rayy. Year 457.

Obv.

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

Rev.

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الب ارسلان

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة سبع وخمسين واربعائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

## 237B. A. Al-Rayy. Year 457.

I have recorded in my notes a *dinār* of Alp Arslān's, al-Rayy, 457, with: شاهانشاه || عضد الدولة but I failed both to take notes on the detailed inscriptions and to write down the collection where the coin is to be found. Is it in Paris? Adud al-Dawlah is, in the histories, Alp Arslān's commonest title of honour.

In 457, Alp Arslān was in eastern Khurāsān (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 83, ll.18-23).

## 238. A. Al-Rayy (?). Year 461.

Obv.

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

Rev.

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الب ارسلان

Obv. inner margin: [sic, no و] سنة احدى ستين [؟] بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى واربعائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33 (sic).

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

The mint is obscure, but I imagine it cannot be anything but al-Rayy. Note the addition of the title Rukn al-Dīn.

## 239. A. Al-Rayy. Year 472(?).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	محمد رسول الله
لا اله الا	السلطان المعظم
• الله وحده	شاهانشاه
لا شريك له	معز الدين
المقتدى بامر الله	ركن الاسلام
	ملك شاه

*Obv. inner margin:* .... [؟] بسم الله ضرب هذا ... ينادى بالري سنة ائتين [؟]

*Obv. outer margin:* (Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4, almost entirely off the flan).

*Rev. margin:* (Qur'ān, IX, 33, almost entirely obliterated and off the flan).

Rayy 1935, RH 5291.

(The date could, of course, as well be 482.)

The Caliph al-Muqtadi bi-amr-allāh, whose name is inscribed on the obverse, succeeded to the Caliphate on the death of al-Qā'im on the 13th of Sha'bān, 467 (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 64, l.20). On the 10th of Rabī' I, 465, Alp Arslān had been assassinated and was followed in the Seljūq line by Malik Shāh (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 50, l.15; 51, ll.22ff.; cf. Hamdullāh Mustawfi, 442-443; Rāwandī, 120, ll.6-10; Bundāri, 45, ll.16ff.; Akhbār al-Dawlah, 54, ll.11-12, Saturday, end of Rabī' I, i. e., the 24th). Malik Shāh's protocol reads: Al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Shāhānshāh Mu'izz al-Dīn, Rukn al-Islām, Malik Shāh.

## 240. A. Al-Rayy. Year 473(?).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عدل	( ornament obscure)
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	السلطان [المعظم]
لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
المقتدى بامر الله	معز الدين [بن]
	ملك شاه

*Obv. inner margin:* .... رب هذا الدينار بالري سنة ثلث [؟] وسبعين واربع مائة [؟]

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1935, RH 5290.

In 473 Malik Shāh went to Rayy where he raised an army to march against his brother Takash who had revolted in Khurāsān (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 76, ll.4-20).



## 241. A. Al-Rayy. Year 475(?).

*Obv.*

عدل

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

المقتدى بامر الله

At left: floral ornament ?

At right: word ?

*Rev.*

.....

[محمد رسول الله]

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

معز الدين

ركن الاسلام

[م] ملك شا [ه]

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة ... [؟] ... واربعة مائة*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy 1935, RH 5285.

This coin could as well be 485, but its similarity in style to the coins of the 470's makes the earlier alternative more likely.

## 242A. A. Al-Rayy. Year 477.

*Obv.*

عدل

لا اله الا

○ الله وحده

لا شريك له

المقتدى بامر الله

At right: obscure ornament.

*Rev.*

٢٥

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

معز الدين

ركن الاسلام

ملك شاه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة سبع وسبعين واربعة مائة*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1935, RH 5286, 5288, 5300.

## 242B. A. Al-Rayy. Year 477.

Obverse as no. 242 A, but the ornament at the left consists in four unevenly bunched dots.

Reverse as no. 242 A.

Rayy 1935, RH 5293, 5301.

(Two other *dīnārs* from the Rayy Excavations, RH 5294 and RH 5295, in a poorer state of preservation than the rest, are probably of the Rayy mint, though the word الرّی is obscure. The dates are effaced as well. But as the inscriptions are similar to those of the years 475 and 477, and there are only minor differences in ornament (°○ at left and • at right of obverse; ۱ لله (?) above the reverse), they are to be assigned roughly to these years.

In the year 477 another rising of Takash against his brother took place. (Cf. note under no.240). If the rebellion had not been checked, Takash "would have plundered up to the gates of al-Rayy" (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 88, 1.8-89, 1.9).

243. A/. Al-Rayy. Year 480.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	۱ لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
○ الله وحده ○	السلطان المعظم
لا شريك له	* شاهانشاه *
المقتدى [Naskhi]	معز الدين
بامر الله	ركن الاسلام
	ملك شاه (minuscule)

Obv. inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرّی سنة ثمانين واربع مائة

Obv. outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

244A. A/. Al-Rayy. Year 481.

Obv.	Rev.
۱ لله	۱ لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	السلطان المعظم
لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
المقتدى	معز الدين
بامر الله	ركن الاسلام
	ابو القتح [minuscule]
	ملك شاه

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرّی سنة احدى وثمانین واربع مائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

244B. A. Al-Rayy. Year 481.

Obverse as no. 244 A

*Rev.*

لله

محمد

معز الدنيا والدين

رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

ركن الاسلام

محمد ...

[minuscule]

ملك شاه

(محمد in the next to the last line of the area is in Naskhi.)

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

These are interesting issues because of the fullness of their inscriptions. The Caliph receives more attention than he has for years: al-Imām al-Muqtadi bi-amr-allāh Khalifat-allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn; and to the titles commonly given to Malik Shāh so far on the coins, are added the historically well-known *laqab* Jalāl al-Dawlah, and the, I believe so far unknown complement, Jamāl al-Millah. (Cf. for example ibn-Khallikān, II, 586 ff., where one reads Jalāl al-Dawlah among the titles but without the balancing Jamāl al-Millah.)

244x. A. Al-Rayy. Year 484.

*Obv.*

عدل

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

المقتدى بأمر الله

خليفة الله أمير

المؤمنين

*Rev.*

Scroll

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

معز الدنيا و

الدين أبو الفتح

ملكشاه (minuscule)

*Obv. inner margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرّی سنة اربع وثمانین واربع مائة

*Obv. outer margin:* Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4 (mostly effaced).

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

ANS.

245. A. Al-Rayy. Year 485.

Malik Shāh. No description.

Casanova, no. 1158, pg. 50.

Malik Shāh died during the night of the 15th–16th of Shawwāl, 485 (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 142, ll.9ff.; cf. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 448, l.18; Bundāri, 81, ll.18–19). The assassination of Nizām al-Mulk had taken place in this same year (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 137, ll.17ff.). Malik Shāh's son Maḥmūd, a child a little more than four years old, succeeded under the regency of his mother Turkān Khātūn (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 142, l.23; 145, ll.12ff.). When the young sultān and his mother approached Iṣbahān, Barkiyāruq, the brother who was soon to become the successor himself, left that city and went to Rayy where he took the citadel of Ṭabarak, and soon returned to the siege of Iṣbahān (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 145, ll.12–147, l.1; Bundāri, 82, ll.20ff.; cf. Mirkhwand, Seljūqs, 150, ll.9ff.). Rayy therefore actually passed immediately under the rule of Barkiyāruq. He was only eleven years of age at the time (born in 474, ibn-Khallikān, I, 154, ll.26–27).

246. A. Al-Rayy. Year 487.

*Obv.*

الله (within ornament)

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

المقتدى

بامر الله

*Rev.*

ornament

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

ركن الدنيا والدين

ملك الاسلام

والمسلمين ابو

المظفر

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة

(*Obv. outer margin?*)

*Rev. margin:* Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

Note Barkiyāruq's protocol: Al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Rukn al-Dunya wa-al-Dīn, Malik al-Islām wa-al-Muslimīn, abu-al-Muẓaffar Barkiyāruq b. Malik Shāh, and compare this with the titles as on other issues. Ibn-Khallikān (I, 154) gives: abu-al-Muẓaffar Rukn al-Dīn, Shihāb al-Dawlah, and Majd al-Mulk. (Cf. Rāwandi, 138, l.14, where the titles are as commonly on the coins: Al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Rukn al-Dunya wa-al-Dīn, abu-al-Muẓaffar Barkiyāruq).

The Caliph al-Muqtadi died the 15th of Muḥarram, 487 (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 155, ll.2ff.; abu-al-Fidā', ed. Istanbul, II, 214, ll.16–20; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 360, ll.7–8, middle of Muḥarram), and was succeeded by al-Mustaẓhir bi-allāh (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 155, ll.18–19;

157, ll.1-9). On the 14th of Muḥarram the *khutbah* in Baghdād was read in the name of Barkiyāruq, and at the same time he was given the title Rukn al-Dīn (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 155 ll.12-18, 19-20), but we have noted above (under no. 245) that Rayy fell under Barkiyāruq's rule immediately after Malik Shāh's death in 485. The present *dīnār* must have been struck at the beginning of Muḥarram, 487; in any case, before the news of the Caliph's death had reached Rayy.

There are other coins of Barkiyāruq's struck before his official *khutbah*: e. g. *dīnārs* of Qumm and Iṣbahān, year 486, in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society.

247. A. Al-Rayy. Year 488.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عبد	بركيارق
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	السلطان المعظم
لا شريك له	ركن الدنيا
المستظهر بالله	والدين ابو المظفر
<i>Obv. margin:</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري سنة ثمان وثمانين وأربع مائة	
<i>(Obv. outer margin: ?)</i>	
<i>Rev. margin:</i> Qur'ān, IX, 33.	

Paris, unpublished.

The titles are the same as on the issue of 487 (cf. no. 246 above), with the exception of the omission of Malik al-Islām wa-al-Muslimīn.

In the year 488 the rivalry between Barkiyāruq and his uncle Tutush, Atabeg of Damascus, came to a head; Tutush invaded Irān and finally entered Rayy<sup>1</sup>, but when Barkiyāruq approached the city with a large army, Tutush's men fled and he himself was killed (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 166, ll.17 ff.).

248A. A. Al-Rayy. Year 490.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	السلطان المعظم
المستظهر	ركن الدنيا
بالله	والدين
	بركيارق

<sup>1</sup> Just as the present work goes to press I discover in the collection of the American Numismatic Society a most interesting *dīnār* struck by 'Izz al-Dunya 'Aḍud al-Dīn abu-Sa'īd Tutush at Rayy in 487. I am forced to postpone the description and discussion of this valuable coin until a later date.

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرّی سنة تسعين واربع مائة.

*Rev. margin:* Qur'an, IX, 33, as far as الحق.

Bartholomae à Soret, II, Rev. Num. Belge, 1861, no.17, pg.37.

248x. A/. Al-Rayy (or Lār ?). Year 494.

Not fully described, but beneath the obverse المستظهر بالله; and above عدل. Double margin. Reverse: Barkiyāruq, above, لله; at right, ornament. The reverse is said to be "à peu près composé comme" no. 86 in Bartholomae à Soret, Rev. Num. Belge, 1859, pg. 431, a *dīnār* of Adharbayjān dated 48X. This coin has:

[sic] محمد رسول الله || السلطان المعظم || ركن الدنيا والدين || ابو المظفر بركيارق || بن ملك شالا

If the coin is of the Rayy mint, the name is poorly written.

Sale of Th. Strauss Collection, Schulman, Amsterdam, Jan., 1913, pg. 67, no.1063.

249A. A/. Al-Rayy. Year 495.

*Obv.*

*Rev.*

عدل

لله

لا اله الا

محمد رسول الله

الله وحده

السلطان المعظم

لا شريك له

ركن الدنيا و

المستظهر بالله

الدين ابو المظفر

بركيارق

*Obv. margin:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرّی سنة خمس وتسعين واربع مائة.

(*Obv. outer margin:* ?)

*Rev. margin:* Qur'an, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

There was in this year 495, a resumption of hostilities between Barkiyāruq and his brother Muḥammad. The latter occupied Rayy for eight days; on the 9th, Barkiyāruq expelled him from the city and Muḥammad fled to Iṣbahān (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 227, ll.3-24; 228, ll.1 ff.; cf. Akhbār al-Dawlah, 77, ll.14 ff.; Mirkhwand, Seljūqs, 160, ll.10 ff.; abu-al-Fidā', ed. Istanbul, II, 225, l.24-226, l.6, under year 494. I believe Zambaur is mistaken in adopting this date in his Manuel, pg. 45).

249x. A/. Al-Rayy (?). Year 498.

Not fully described. Apparently like no. 248 X above. Barkiyāruq.

Sale of Th. Strauss Collection, Schulman, Amsterdam, Jan., 1913, pg. 67, no.1063.

On the second of Rabī' II, 498 (after the striking of the above coin), Barkiyāruq had died and had appointed as his successor his son, Malik Shāh, who, at the time, was only



four years and eight months old (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 260, 1.18–261, 1.10; cf. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 453, ll.18–19, where the date of Barkiyāruq's death is placed on the 12th of Jumāda II). The *khutbah* was read in the mosques of Baghdād in the name of Malik Shāh on the 23rd of Rabi' II, the boy having arrived there from Iṣbahān on the 17th of the month with his *atabeg* Ayāz. He was given the title of honour, Jalāl al-Dawlah along with other *laqabs* (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 262, ll. 3–15). Meanwhile Muḥammad, hearing of his brother Barkiyāruq's death, set out from the siege of al-Mawṣil and made his way immediately to Baghdād, which he entered on the 23rd of Jumāda I. After his arrival the *khutbah* was read simultaneously in the west part of the city in the name of Muḥammad, and in the eastern wards of Baghdād in the name of the infant Malik Shāh. The anomalous situation did not last long, however, as Muḥammad thereupon succeeded to the leadership of the Seljūq dynasty (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 264, 1.9–266, 1.11). He stayed at Baghdād till Sha'bān, 498, then went to the Seljūq capital, Iṣbahān (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 266, ll.10–11).

Note the interesting coin, B.M. iii, no.67, struck by Muḥammad at Lurdijān, in Khūzistān between Arrajān and Iṣbahān, in 496, before the death of Barkiyāruq. It has particular significance in view of the treaty between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad signed in 497, according to which the former, who was then at Rayy, was to have the *khutbah* read to him in that city and in all "al-Jabal", Ṭabaristān, Khūzistān, Fārs, Diyārbakr, al-Jazīrah, and Hījāz; whereas Muḥammad, who was in Adharbayjān, was to receive homage there and in Arrān, Armenia, Iṣbahān and al-'Irāq (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 253, ll.9–17). The year before, in Ṣafar, 496, Yannāl b. Anūshtekīn had occupied Rayy in the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad, and the *khutbah* had temporarily been read in the latter's name there; but in the middle of Rabi' I, Yannāl was forced to flee, giving up the city again to Barsaq b. Barsaq, an officer of Barkiyāruq's (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 243, ll.7–15). It is apparent that in 496 Muḥammad was exercising authority over a considerable area which, in the treaty of 497, was conceded to Barkiyāruq.

250A. A. Al-Rayy (?). Year 499.

Obv.	Rev.
ملك	بو شجع
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	السلطان المعظم
المستظهر بالله	غياث الدنيا
	ولدين [sic]

Obv. margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار با... سنة تسع وتسعين واربع مائة [?]

(Obv. outer margin: ?)

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Paris, unpublished.

The first line of the reverse should of course read ابو شجاع, but it is engraved as transcribed. Rāwandi has: "Al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa-al-Dīn abu-Shujā'" (Rāwandi, 152). This is Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (cf. the note under no. 249 X, above).

250x. A. Al-Rayy. Year 525.

Obv.		Rev.
[sic] ابو القاسم محمود	عدل	امن
	لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
	الله وحده	الله [sic] الطاهر العظيم
	لا شريك له	معز الدنيا والدين
	المسترشد بالله	ابو الحرث سنجر

Obv. margin: ..... دينار بالري سنة خمس وعشرين وخمسمائة.

(Obv. outer margin, if any, off flan).

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33 (mostly off flan).

ANS.

The Caliph al-Mustarshid bi-allāh had succeeded in Rabī' II, 512. Sanjar, whose name appears on the reverse area of the above *dīnār*, had become overlord of the Seljūq house on the death of Muḥammad in 511 (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 367; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 457, ll.13 ff.), while Maḥmūd (on the obverse at the sides) was made ruler of the 'Irāq branch of the family in 512 (ibn-al-Athīr, X, 373; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, *loc. cit.*). I cannot explain Malik Sulaymān at the sides of the reverse area.

250v. A. Al-Rayy (?). Year 529.

Obv.		Rev.
[sic] السلطان الاعظم	بن محمد	الملك [?]
	لا اله الا	محمد
	الله وحده	رسول الله
	لا شريك له	السلطان الاعظم
	الرشيد [sic] بالله	ابو الحرث
طغرل		سنجر

Obv. margin: ..... ر بالري [?] سنة تسع وعشرين وخمس.

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

B. Dorn, Über die vom wirkli. Staatsrath Chanykov dem asiatischen Museum zugekommenen Sendungen von morgenländischen Münzen und Handschriften, in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Tome IV, 1860-1863, pg. 31, no. 19.

This is an issue of the 'Irāq Seljūqi Toghrih who had succeeded to the rule in 526 and the date of whose death is disputed (ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 10, ll.23ff., year 529; Rāwandī, 208, ll.11-12, and 224, ll.19ff., year 529; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī, 464, year 529; Bundārī, 172, ll.18ff., year 528; Akhbār al-Dawlah, 107, l.10, year 529; Mīrkhwand, Seljūqs, 197, ll. 6-7, year 529; abu-al-Fidā', ed. Istanbul, III, 9, ll.3-5, year 528 or 529; ibn-Khallikān, II, 531, l.17 and 532, ll.12-13, *khutbah* after his uncle Sanjar's name in 527, Sultānate in 528). Since al-Rāshid's name is present (Caliph from dhu-al-Qa'dah, 529 till dhu-al-Qa'dah, 530, cf. ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 26-27), there can be little doubt but that the digit 9 has been read correctly on the coin (not 7), and thus the issue is important evidence pointing toward the correctness of the 529 date for the death of Toghrih and the succession of Mas'ūd. Sanjar's name appears as over-lord again; and once more the significance of the inscription al-Malik (?) Sulaymān Shāh escapes me (cf. no. 250 X).

250z. A. Al-Rayy (?). Date effaced (530-547).

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله وحد

لا شريك له

[sic] المقتفى لامر الله

At right, obscure, partially effaced word.

*Rev.*

مسعود

محمد

رسول الله

السلطان

... عظم ...

.....

مسعود is written in Naskhi.

At left, obscure letter or word.

*Obv. margin:* .....؟ [ي] ينار بال .....؟

*Rev. margin:* effaced.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 401.

251A. A. Al-Rayy (?). Year 545 (?).

The mint is very obscure, but quite possibly al-Rayy. The digit is uncertain. The obverse bears the name of al-Muqtafi.

*Rev.*

مسعود

السلطان

الاعظم

سنجر

Berlin, unpublished, "Guthrie, 1876".

Al-Muqtafi had succeeded to the Caliphate in 530 (ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 27, ll.10ff.). Mas'ūd, whose name appears at the top of the reverse area of nos. 250 Z and 251 A, became lord of 'Irāq in 529 (cf. the remarks after no. 250 Y).

251x. A. Al-Rayy. Year 549 (?).

Obv.	Rev.
.....	[؟] د....
لا اله	محمد
[sic] الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	السلطان
[sic] المقتفى لامر الله	الاعظ....
	.....

Obv. inner margin: ..... وارب [؟] سنة تسع

Obv. outer margin: traces.

Rev. margin: effaced.

Rayy, 1934, RCh420 (date and mint effaced), 421 (digit somewhat doubtful, possibly 7, but probably 9).

In spite of its obscurity this issue is probably to be attributed to Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, lord of 'Irāq from 548-554. Rayy had actually come under the control of the Atābeg Inānj (or Inānej), but all of al-Jibāl was still nominally ruled by the Seljūq house (cf. ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 121-122). Sanjar's name is effaced at the bottom.

251y. A. Al-Rayy. Year 551.

Obv.	Rev.
[؟] العدل	ح
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	السلطان [sic] الاعظ ..
[sic] المقتفى لامر الله	سنجر السلطان [sic]

نصر من and فتح قريب are written in Naskhi.

Obv. margin: [sic] بسله ..... بالرى سنة اح .... مساة [sic]

Rev. margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 402 (digit of date preserved, mint preserved), 403 (date 5xx, mint effaced).

On this specimen Muḥammad's name is preserved along with that of his overlord Sanjar (cf. no.251 X above). At the sides of the obverse are words from the verse نصر من الله وفتح قريب which we have observed on Sāmānid coins.

251z. A. Rayy. Date effaced (555-556).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	سليمان
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول الله
المستنجد بالله	السلطان
	ظم.....
	.....

المستنجد بالله is obscurely written in Naskhi.

*Obv. margin:* ..... [sic] ذا دينار برى

*Rev. margin:* clipped.

Rayy, 1934, RCh 422.

The coin described above is one issued by the 'Irāq Seljūqi Sulaymān Shāh. The Caliph, al-Mustanjid, whose name appears on the obverse, had succeeded on the death of al-Muqtafi, the 2nd of Rabi' I, 555 (ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 169); while Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (cf. nos. 251 X and Y) had died the previous year, leaving the Seljūq house of 'Irāq in considerable disorder. There followed an interregnum during which two parties were in conflict, one following Malik Shāh, Muḥammad's brother, and the other Sulaymān Shāh, Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh's son (ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 166). Sulaymān Shāh was finally, but only briefly, successful: he entered Hamadhān and was declared Sultān on the 12th of Rabi' I, 555, and was killed the following year in Rabi' II (cf. ibn-al-Athīr, XI, 168, 175-6; Rāwandī, 275; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī, 470-471).

These few miserable issues (nos. 250 X, Y, Z and 251 A, X, Y, and Z) are the only numismatic records of Rayy during the 6th Century and at this point we are only half way through the century<sup>1</sup>. Of the next century and a half of troubled history at Rayy there has not been preserved a single numismatic specimen. This phenomenon is doubtless in part due to the decentralization of the Seljūq Empire and the continually harassed state of the eastern lands; but perhaps even more to the degeneration of the coinage (for we are no better supplied with Seljūq issues of other Persian mints during this period). Between the last date entered here, 555-556, and the end of the 6th Century, Rayy was nominally in the hands of the Seljūqs of 'Irāq, and such specimens of their coinage as have been preserved are so miserably designed and struck that it is not at all surprising that there is this long lacuna in the history of the Rayy mint. The quantity as well as the quality of the output must have fallen off considerably, for relatively very few of the coins of

<sup>1</sup> For the largest collection of coins known of the 'Irāqi Seljūqs, see the description of the Cheshmeh-i-'Alī hoard of *dīnārs* found by the Rayy Expedition, 1934, (to be published) — almost all of them unfortunately with dates and mints effaced or clipped. The very few on which the mint is preserved were issued at Rayy (see nos. 250 Z, 251 X, 251 Y and 251 Z), and it is a reasonable presumption that a large number of the other *dīnārs* in the hoard were also issues of the Rayy mint.

the 'Irāq Seljūqs have come to light. This degeneration is to me remarkable in view of the superior quality of the artistic products, of pottery at least, at Rayy during this period. Very probably the old gold, the good gold of the earlier Seljūqs and perhaps even of earlier dynasties, continued in use even into the beginning of the Mongol period. Between 617, when the Mongols entered Rayy and 701, when the next known specimen of the Rayy mint was struck, there were in all probability no issues. During the first years of the Mongol rule, the conquerors were content to let the population go on using the coinage then current, as they had no coinage of their own; and Rayy, in any case, had received its death blow. The few issues that follow are of no great importance. They are the only vestige of an abortive attempt to restore the great city to something of its old grandeur.



## IX. THE MONGOL PERIOD

### 252. *R.* Rayy. Year 701.

Not completely described. In the segments of the obverse the date is written as follows:  
4. ضرب ري. In the center: *وسلم*. 3. سبعة 2. احدى 1. سنة 5. <sup>1</sup> (في) or ضرب. The reverse  
has at the right: *في سنة سبعة* <sup>1</sup> [sic.] or [احدى و] سبعة.

W. Tiesenhausen, *Нумизматическія Новинки* (for full title, see no. 175 X), no. 35; Markoff, *Supplement*, no. 174a; Zambaur, *Contrib.* II, no. 343, pg. 172.

This is a coin of Ghāzān Maḥmūd, who succeeded to the Ilkhānid rule in dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 694 (Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 591, ll. 14-16). It was he who introduced the Ilkhānid era on the 13th Rajab, 701.

### 253a. *R.* Rayy. Year 704.

Pentagonal type.


*Obv.*

Segments not clearly described.

In center: ضرب ري.

*Rev.*

السلطان الاعظم  
غياث الدنيا والدين  
خدا بنده محمد  
خلد الله ملكه

*Segments:* 1. fleuron 2. [sic.]  سنة اربع 3. وسبعة 4. ?

Zambaur, *Contrib.* II, no. 352, pg. 174.

Khodābendeh Muḥammad, Uljāitu, was crowned at Tabrīz in dhu-al-Ḥijjah, 703 (Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 595, ll. 7-12).

### 253x. *R.* Rayy. Year 719.

Not described. Abu-Sa'īd.

Aḥmed Zia, *Meskukāt-i-Islāmiyyeh Taqvīmi*, Istanbul, 1910, no. 1416 (type of no. 254 below); Johnston Coll., no. 432, pg. 38.

<sup>1</sup> Tiesenhausen.

## 254. R. Rayy. Year 7XX. (717-722.)

Looped square type (in use from 717-722).

*Obv.*

لا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

*Around sides:* فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُوَ

السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ (Qur'ān, II, 131.)

*Beneath:* ابو بكر

عمر عثمان علي

*Rev.*(within looped square)

ضرب

في ايام دولة السلطان

الاعظم ابو سعيد

خلد الله ملكه

من

النصر

*Margin:* (In spaces between square and outer circle.)

ضرب || ري || في || ... || ... || ... || سبع || مائة

B. M. vi, no.188, pg. 68.

Abu-Sa'īd was crowned in Šafar, 717, at the age of twelve (Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, 601, ll. 11-12; cf. Zambaur, Manuel, pg. 244: his accession in Shawwāl, 716, his official *julūs* in Šafar, 717).

## 255. R. Rayy. Year 722.

Pentagonal type.

*Obv.*

الله

لا اله الا

⊞ ضرب ⊞

محمد

⊞ ري ⊞

رسول الله

*Around sides:* ابو بكر عمر عثمان علي*Rev.*

(within ornamental pentagon.)

في ايا

ضرب

م دولة السلطان الاعظم

ابو سعيد بهادر خان

خلد الله ملكه

*Margin:* (in spaces between pentagon and outer circle)

سنة || اثني || عشرين || وسبع || مائة

Berlin, unpublished, "Guthrie, 1876".

256. R. Rayy. Year 33, Ilkhāniyyah = 733.

Square Kufic bilingual type.

*Obv.*

Square Kufic block, reading:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

*At the sides of the block:*

أبو بكر عمر عثمان علي

*Rev.*

ضرب في

السلطان العالم العادل

❧ ضرب ❧

عمر عثمان

❧ ري ❧

بسم الله

(عمر عثمان) in Mongol =  
Busaīda, i. e. abu-Sa'īd.)

O. Codrington, *Some Rare and Unedited Arabic and Persian Coins*, Hertford, 1889, pg. 3;  
Catalogue of . . . Coins, the Property of Mr. Eugene Leggett, Karachi, no date; Markoff,  
no. 411, pg. 587 (not described); Berlin, unpublished, no. 1218/1912.

For the use of the Ilkhāniyyah date, cf. the note under no. 252 above.

A *dirham* listed by Markoff (Supplement, pg. 1037), 74X, struck by Nūshirwān, is probably wrongly attributed to Rayy.

## TABLE OF DATE EQUIVALENTS

Exact Christian equivalents of Hijrah dates are of course available to any one who has access to Wüstenfeld-Mahler's Vergleichungs-Tabellen or any other reliable conversion tables, but for the sake of convenience I append here a list of equivalents for the years in which there were issues of the Rayy mint. In a good many cases the approximate month in the year when a coin was minted has been determined in the discussion accompanying the description of a coin. In such cases a detailed comparative table should be consulted to find the exact Christian equivalent. I have, myself, made use of Wüstenfeld-Mahler's tables.

The first column contains the number of the entry in the monograph (without the letters which designate the different issues of one year, except where X, Y, and Z occur, indicating another year); the second, the year of the issue according to the Hijrah calendar; and the third column, the Christian equivalent.

1	21	641-2	34	124	741-2
2	26	646-7	35	127	744-5
3	29	649-50	36	129	746-7
4	30	650-51	37	130	747-8
5, A	32	652-3	38	131	748-9
5, X	35	655-6	39 before 132	before 749-50	
6	37	657-8	40	137	754-5
7	60	679-80	41	138	755-6
8	61	680-81	42	139	756-7
9	62	681-2	43	141	758-9
10	63	682-3	44	143	760-61
11	67	686-7	45	144	761-2
12	68	687-8	46	143/4	760-62
13	74	693-4	47	145	762-3
14	81	700-01	48	146	763-4
15	82	701-2	49	147	764-5
16	84	703	50	148	765-6
17	90	708-9	51	149	766-7
18	91	709-10	52	150	767
19	92	710-11	53	151	768
20	93	711-12	54	152	769
21	94	712-13	55	153	770
22	95	713-14	56	154	770-71
23	96	714-15	57	155	771-2
24	97	715-16	58	158	774-5
25	98	716-17	59	159	775-6
26	101	719-20	60	160	776-7
27	104	722-3	61	161	777-8
28	110	728-9	62	162	778-9
29	115	733-4	63	163	779-80
30	116	734-5	64	164	780-81
31	120	737-8	65	165	781-2
32	121	738-9	66	166	782-3
33	122	739-40	67	167	783-4

68	168	784-5	120, A	229	843-4
69	169	785-6	120, X	231	845-6
70	170	786-7	121	233	847-8
71	171	787-8	122	234	848-9
72	172	788-9	123	237	851-2
73	173	789-90	124	238	852-3
74	174	790-91	125	239	853-4
75	175	791-2	126	240	854-5
76	176	792-3	127	242	856-7
77	177	793-4	128	243	857-8
78	ca. 177	ca. 793-4	129	244	858-9
79	178	794-5	130	245	859-60
80	179	795-6	131	246	860-61
81	180	796-7	132	247	861-2
82	181	797-8	133	248	862-3
83	182	798-9	134	249	863-4
84	183	799-800	135	250	864-5
85	184	800	136, A, B	251	865
86	185	801	136, X	258	871-2
87	186	802	137	262	875-6
88	187	802-03	138	265	878-9
89	188	803-04	139	275	888-9
90	189	804-05	140	276	889-90
91	190	805-06	141	284	897
92	191	806-07	142	288	900-01
93	192	807-08	143	289	901-02
94	193	808-09	144	292	904-05
95	194	809-10	145	294	906-07
96	195	810-11	146	295	907-08
97	196	811-12	147	296	908-09
98	197	812-13	148	298	910-11
99	198	813-14	149	301	913-14
100	199	814-15	150	302	914-15
101	200	815-16	151	303	915-16
102	201	816-17	152	308	920-21
103	202	817-18	153	309	921-2
104	203	818-19	154	310	922-3
105	204	819-20	155	311	923-4
106	205	820-21	156	312	924-5
107	?	?	157	313	925-6
108	206	821-2	158	314	926-7
109	207	822-3	159	315	927-8
110	208	823-4	160	316	928-9
111	209	824-5	161	317	929-30
112	210	825-6	162	318	930
113	218	833	163	320	932
114	221	835-6	164	323	934-5
115	222	836-7	165	324	935-6
116	223	837-8	166	325	936-7
117	225	839-40	167	326	937-8
118, A	226	840-41	168	327	938-9
118, X	227	841-2	169	329	940-41
119	228	842-3	170	330	941-2

171	331	942-3	215, X	406	1015-16
172	333	944-5	216	407	1016-17
173	334	945-6	217	420	1029
174	335	946-7	218	421	1030
175, A	336	947-8	219	424	1032-3
175, X	337	948-9	220	425	1033-4
176	338	949-50	221	429	1037-8
177	339	950-51	222	432	1040-41
178	340	951-2	223	434	1042-3
179	341	952-3	224	435	1043-4
180	343	954-5	225	437	1045-6
181	344	955-6	226	438	1046-7
182	346	957-8	227	439	1047-8
183	348	959-60	228	440	1048-9
184	349	960-61	229	444	1052-3
185	350	961-2	230	445	1053-4
186, A	351	962	231	447	1055-6
186, X	354	965	232	450	1058-9
187	355	965-6	233	452	1060
188	357	967-8	234	453	1061
189, A	358	968-9	235	455	1063
189, X	359	969-70	236	456	1063-4
189, Y	360	970-71	237	457	1064-5
190	361	971-2	238	461	1068-9
191	362	972-3	239	472	1079-80
192	363	973-4	240	473	1080-81
193	365	975-6	241	475	1082-3
194	366	976-7	242	477	1084-5
195, A, B	367	977-8	243	480	1087-8
195, X	368	978-9	244, A, B	481	1088-9
195, Y	369	979-80	244, X	484	1091-2
195, Z	370	980-81	245	485	1092-3
196	371	981-2	246	487	1094
197	372	982-3	247	488	1095
198	374	984-5	248, A	490	1096-7
199	378	988-9	248, X	494	1100-01
200	380	990-91	249, A	495	1101-02
201	381	991-2	249, X	498	1102-03
202	38x (387)	997	250, A	499	1105-06
203	384	994-5	250, X	525	1130-31
204	387	997	250, Y	529	1134-5
205	389	998-9	250, Z	530-547	1135-1153
206	393	1002-03	251, A	545	1150-51
207	395	1004-05	251, X	549	1154-5
208	397	1006-07	251, Y	551	1156-7
209, A	398	1007-08	251, Z	555-556	1160-61
209, X	399	1008-09	252	701	1301-02
210	400	1009-10	253, A	704	1304-05
211	401	1010-11	253, X	719	1319-20
212	402	1011-12	254	7xx(717-722)	1317-1322
213	403	1012-13	255	722	1322
214	404	1013-14	256	733	1332-3
215, A	405	1014-15			



## INDEX OF SPECIMENS FOUND IN THE RAYV EXCAVATIONS, 1934, 1935, 1936.

<i>Field Cat. No.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Field Cat. No.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Field Cat. No.</i>	<i>Year</i>
1 9 3 4		RGQ 2024	104	RH 5286	477
RCh 21	160	2041	139	5288	477
106	150	2043	138	5290	473
113	169	2061	121	5291	472
401	530-547	RD 2122	138	5293	477
402	551	2160	124	5294	47x
403	551	2161	387	5295	4xx(47x)
420	549	2190	150	5300	477
421	549	2451	143-144	5301	477
422	555-556	2530	130	5485	400
427	185	RTA 2618	207	5532	400
428	185	RB 2621	150	6282	387
429	403	2622	121	6357	164
430	403	2624	150	6453	387
431	403	RC 2625	144	6454	4xx (after 407)
432	403	2626	121	6490	146-148
433	403	RE 2666	148	6568	146
434	403	RD 2862	150	RCi 6763	146
435	403	2863	150		
436	402	RE 2865	155	1 9 3 6	
437	402	2869	116	RN 6903	184
438	402	2870	155	6959	148
439	402	2872	155	RCh 7263	148
440	402	2873	155	RCi 7340	101
441	402	RF 2880	150	7349	138
442	404	2883	177	RG 7752	149
443	404	2885	179	7799	207
444	404	2889	155	7955	170
445	404	2890	141	8201	116
446	401	RG 2899	170	8214	141
447	401	2906	395	8215	170
448	401	RF 3253	150	8216	177
449	401	3255	150	8405	144
450	400	RD-G 3501	138	8517	163
RA 867	387			8519	155
RB 938	160	1 9 3 5		8548	129
939	116	RCi 3535	207	8549	160
961	101	3546	164	8554	170
995	116	3572	129	RGQ 8567	131
1001	146-148	4025	120	8576	169
1007	150	4045	130	8581	170
1008	146	4097	120	8605	148
1010	116	RH 4168	141	8658	130
RTA 1171	180	4415	146	8741	387
RCh 1972	146-148	4659	180	CT 9	150
RCh 1973	141	4777	180	31	160
RGQ 1991	116	5005	387	78	207
1992	124	5285	475	118	115

## LOCATION OF SPECIMENS ILLUSTRATED IN THE PLATES.

PLATES I—V.			
<i>Number</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Location</i>
7B.	American Numismatic Society	162B.	American Numismatic Society
10.	Formerly in collection of Professor Ernst Herzfeld	163A.	American Numismatic Society
19.	American Numismatic Society	169.	Author's collection
30.	American Numismatic Society	185.	Münzkabinet, Berlin
31A.	Author's collection	202A.	Ray Excavations, RA 867
32.	Ray Excavations, RC 2626	205A.	American Numismatic Society
37D.	Author's collection	207.	Ray Excavations, RG 2906
41.	Ray Excavations, RGQ 2043	208.	American Numismatic Society
44A.	Author's collection	210.	Ray Excavations, RCh 450
45.	American Numismatic Society	211.	Ray Excavations, RCh 448
48E.	Author's collection	212.	Ray Excavations, RCh 439
49A.	American Numismatic Society	213.	Ray Excavations, RCh 434
50D.	Ray Excavations, RE 2666	214.	Ray Excavations, RCh 442
51A.	Author's collection	214.	Ray Excavations, RCh 445
51C.	American Numismatic Society	216.	Author's collection
55.	American Numismatic Society	223.	American Numismatic Society
56C.	American Numismatic Society	224.	American Numismatic Society
60A.	American Numismatic Society	226.	Author's collection
60F.	Author's collection	228.	American Numismatic Society
67A.	American Numismatic Society	229.	Author's collection
68C.	American Numismatic Society	231.	American Numismatic Society
68E.	Münzkabinet, Berlin	237A.	American Numismatic Society
70A.	American Numismatic Society	238.	American Numismatic Society
70H.	Author's collection	241.	Ray Excavations, RH 5285
71B.	American Numismatic Society	242A.	Ray Excavations, RH 5286
72B.	American Numismatic Society	243.	American Numismatic Society
72D.	American Numismatic Society	244A.	American Numismatic Society
75B.	American Numismatic Society	244B.	American Numismatic Society
79A.	American Numismatic Society	244X.	American Numismatic Society
81A.	American Numismatic Society	250X.	American Numismatic Society
81C.	American Numismatic Society	250Z.	Ray Excavations, RCh 401
84D.	American Numismatic Society	251X.	Ray Excavations, RCh 421
86E.	Author's collection	251Y.	Ray Excavations, RCh 402
87F.	American Numismatic Society	251Z.	Ray Excavations, RCh 422
94A.	Author's collection		
95D.	Author's collection		
96D.	American Numismatic Society		
97C.	American Numismatic Society		
98D.	American Numismatic Society		
102A.	American Numismatic Society		
103.	American Numismatic Society		
112A.	American Numismatic Society		
122A.	American Numismatic Society		
130B.	American Numismatic Society		
145.	American Numismatic Society		
156C.	American Numismatic Society		
157A.	American Numismatic Society		

## Plate VI

155A.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
156B.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
160A.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
160C.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
171A.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
181.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
195B.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
200.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
217B.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
218B.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
222A.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
246.	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

## فهرست اسماء والقاب

- 81 , الامير الامين عبد الله [sic] بن امير المؤمنين  
 131 , احمد بن الحسن الماردي  
 137-140 , احمد بن علي  
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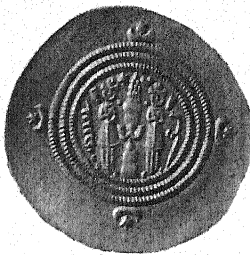
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19.



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31 A.



32.



37 D.



41.



44 A.



45.



48 E.



49 A.



50 D.



51 A.



51 C.



55.



56 C.



60 A.



60 F.

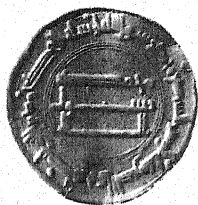








67 A.



68 C.



68 E.



70 A.



70 H.



71 B.



72 B.



72 D.



75 B.



79 A.



81 A.



81 C.



84 D.



86 E.



87 F.



94 A.



95 D.



96 D.



97 C.



98 D.



102 A.







103.



112 A.



122 A.



130 B.



145.



156 C.



157 A.



162 B.



163 A.



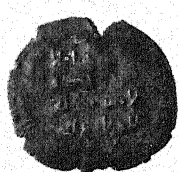
169.



185.



202 A.



205 A.



207.



208.



ABBĀSĪD

SĀMĀNĪD

BUYĪD







210.



211.



212.



213.



214.



214.



216.



223.



224.



226.



228.



229.



231.



237 A.



238.



BUYID

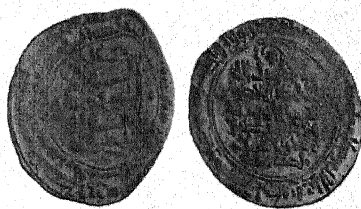
SELJŪQ







241.



242 A.



243.



244 A.



244 B.



244 X.



250 X.



250 Z.



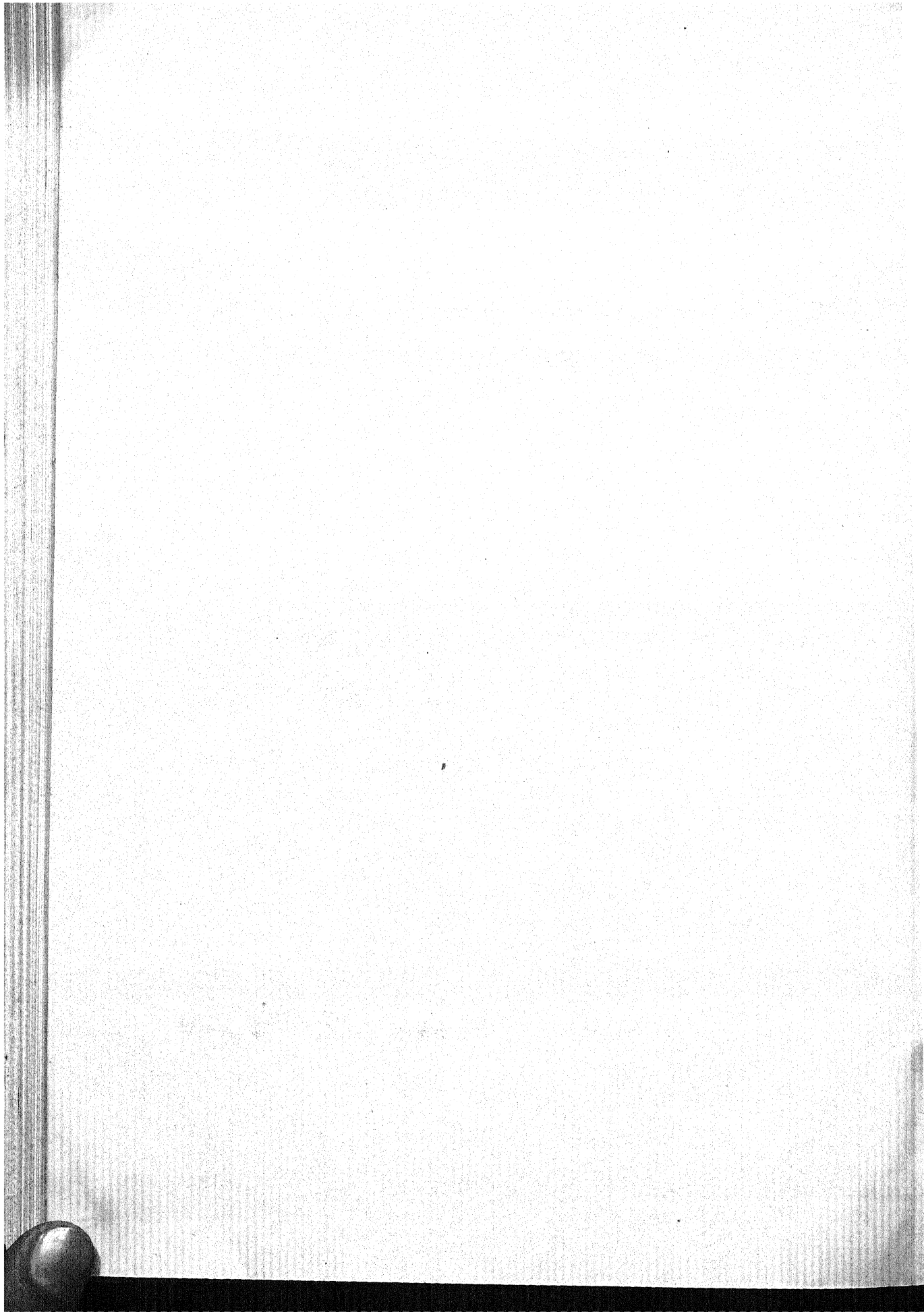
251 X.



251 Y.



251 Z.





155 A.



156 B.



160 A.



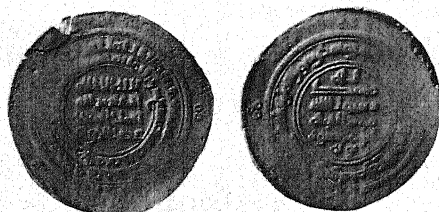
160 C.



171 A.



181.



195 B.



200.



217 B.



218 B.



222 A.



246.

ŞAṬLŪKID

SĀJID

SĀMĀNID

BUYID

GHAZNAWID

KĀKWAYHID

SELJŪQ